

Coordinated Investigation of
Micronesian Anthropology
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Ponapean Political and Social Organization

FINAL REPORT of S H. Rosenberg

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PONAPEAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

By

Saul H. Riesenbergr

Manuscript copy; being revised for publication.

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FOREWORD

It is impossible to make full acknowledgement of thanks to all the persons who assisted the writer on his field-trip to Ponape between June, 1947, and January, 1948. Those who are singled out by name here are mentioned because association with them was more intimate and more prolonged. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the members of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council for acceptance of the writer as a participant in the CIMA project; to Prof. F.M. Keesing for his assistance and advice in preparation for the trip, as well as to the various personnel of the School of Naval Administration at Stanford University; to Prof. G.P. Murdock for his suggestions on field procedure; to P.H. Buck, K.P. Emory, Leonard Mason, and various personnel of the Bishop Museum and numerous Naval officers in Honolulu for their assistance and hospitality; to Commanders Duke and Linthicum at Guam, among other Naval officers, for their personal kindnesses; on Ponape to Messrs. Johnson, Halvorsen, Vercher, Nash, Kirby, Ruddick, Mooney, Braddon-Walker, and many others for their friendly co-operation in such matters as supply and transportation. Only a few of the natives of Ponape who extended hospitality and acted as informants can be listed here; among those with whom the writer had the longest and most personal relations are Andreas Weilbaecher, William Helgenberger, Oliver Nanpei, the Nallaym of Net, the Nanpey of Net, and Joseph Iriarte.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The list of symbols which follows and which has been used in this paper was devised by Dr. Paul L. Garvin, University of Oklahoma, who studied the language of Ponape in 1947.

Short vowels:

a
o
ε
o
e
u
i
y
e

As in:

dann (German)
run
met
offen (German)
met (Southern U.S.)
foot
bit
le (French)
indeterminate

Long vowels:

a:
o:
e:
u:
i:

Vater (German)
paw
so (German)
né (French)
rule
meet

Diphthongs, none of them with length value:

ay
ey
oy
uy
iy
ey
aw
ew
ow

I
lay (Southern U.S.)
lay (Northern U.S.)
boy
pfui (German)
see (Southern U.S.)
oeil (French)
house
so (Cockney)
so

Consonants

p
t
ʈ
k
s
m
n
ŋ
r
l

p and k are voiceless lenis; t and ʈ are voiceless lenis with a spirant off-glide; ʈ is a retroflex post-alveolar stop.

INTRODUCTORY

The volcanic island of Ponape lies in the eastern Caroline Islands between $6^{\circ}47'$ and $7^{\circ}1'$ north latitude and $158^{\circ}9'$ and $158^{\circ}24'$ east longitude. Ponape and the nearby atolls of Pakin and Ant constitute the Senyavin Islands. The main island of Ponape, roughly circular in outline, is about 130 square miles in area. Within the lagoon are 23 islands which, like the main island, are of basaltic formation; these, plus a number of alluvial islands lying close to shore, some 15 coral islets in the encircling reef, and about 50 artificial islands grouped together upon which are built the famous archaeological ruins, bring the total area to about 145 square miles.

The population numbers about 5600, of whom some 1200 are non-Ponapean in origin. Nearly 700 of these are natives or descendants of natives of the Mortlock group, settled in Ponape after a destructive hurricane during German times. Only the out-islanders, who live mostly on Sokas Island, cluster together in village communities, apart from the town of Colonia. The rest of the population is scattered in single houses or in groups of two or three dwellings along the shores of the main island and on some of the smaller islands. For the most part the interior is left unoccupied, although a number of ruins and many house foundations attest to a population formerly larger and more inland-dwelling.

2.

The first real knowledge of Ponape dates from 1826, when the Irish sailor, O'Connell, was shipwrecked there. Some earlier Spanish explorers may have sighted or visited the island, and a native legend very circumstantially tells of men with skins of iron who landed and who could be killed only by spearing them in the mouth. O'Connell reports evidence of previous shipwrecks and also a native legend of the introduction of chickens by a large vessel, which he interprets to be Chinese.

After 1826 a period of visits by whaling vessels and of missionary influence began. Though the Spanish had some vague claims to the Caroline Islands it was only in 1886, after a dispute over sovereignty with Germany, that they really began to exert political authority. After the Spanish-American War Germany in 1899 purchased the islands from Spain. The Japanese occupied them in 1914 and the Americans in 1945. Following Bascom the following periods will be referred to in this paper:

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Native period | Before 1826 |
| Pre-Spanish period | 1826 - 1886 |
| Spanish period | 1886 - 1899 |
| German period | 1899 - 1914 |
| Japanese period | 1914 - 1945 |
| American period | After 1945 |

A number of exogamous and totemic matrilineal clans exist, which are related to the political structure. These are further divided into sub-clans, which are ranked by seniority within the clan. The senior man of each sub-clan is the chief thereof, the mess'n xi:'n ká:ynak; his functions are less political than economic and social, except when his sub-clan is one of the ruling sub-clans. The clan itself has no chief.

CLANS

The following census of Ponapean population by clans and of out-islanders on Ponape was made by the writer in November and December of 1947. The figures are to be considered as only approximate.

| | U | Matolenim | Sokas | Kiti | Net | Total |
|-----------------------|-----|-----------|-------|------|-----|-------|
| Ponapeans by clan | | | | | | |
| 1. Pú:tun | 32 | 1 | | | 11 | 44 |
| 2. Lási:alap | 250 | 56 | 11 | 81 | 50 | 448 |
| 3. So:w'n ro:y | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| 4. Tipwin man | 29 | 99 | 50 | 264 | 35 | 477 |
| 5. Lá:tok | 12 | 31 | 5 | 15 | 12 | 75 |
| 6. Tipwi' lap | 78 | 27 | 42 | 65 | 184 | 396 |
| 7. So:w'n kawá:t | 60 | 124 | 67 | 281 | 251 | 783 |
| 8. Tipwi' lu:k | 56 | 100 | | 36 | 22 | 214 |
| 9. Tipwin wa:y | 48 | 134 | 24 | 135 | 75 | 416 |
| 10. Liá:rkata:w | 74 | 1 | | 7 | 11 | 93 |
| 11. Lipetan | 28 | 12 | | 49 | 32 | 121 |
| 12. So:w'n sámaki | 7 | | 13 | 26 | 25 | 71 |
| 13. Tipwin pá:nma:y | 143 | 229 | 4 | 117 | 61 | 554 |
| 14. So:w'n māraki | 20 | 48 | | 2 | | 70 |
| 15. Ná:nyak | 36 | 7 | 4 | 66 | 36 | 149 |
| 16. So:w'n pálienpi:l | 13 | 2 | 1 | 20 | | 36 |
| 17. Tipwin pō:po: | 4 | 24 | 17 | 233 | 18 | 296 |
| 18. So:w'n pwok | 8 | 110 | 3 | 65 | 12 | 198 |
| 19. Unknown | | 8 | | | | |
| Total | 898 | 1013 | 242 | 1463 | 835 | 4451 |
| Out-islanders | | | | | | |
| 1. Kapingamarangi | | 2 | 1 | | 35 | 38 |
| 2. Nukuoro | | | 1 | | 5 | 6 |
| 3. Mortlock | | 17 | 605 | 12 | 30 | 664 |
| 4. Truk | 8 | 14 | 3 | 21 | 27 | 73 |
| 5. Kusai | 4 | 3 | | | 1 | 8 |
| 6. Pingelap | 4 | 23 | 85 | | 14 | 126 |
| 7. Mokil | | 25 | 105 | | 2 | 132 |
| 8. Ngatik | | 21 | 28 | | 2 | 51 |
| 9. Yap | | | 21 | | 5 | 26 |
| 10. New Guinea | 1 | | 2 | | | 3 |
| 11. Palau | | | | | 2 | 2 |
| 12. Philippines | 1 | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 13. Saipan | 8 | 12 | 9 | | 1 | 30 |
| 14. Malaya | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 15. Gilberts | | 4 | 3 | | 3 | 10 |
| 16. Marshalls | | | 1 | | 4 | 5 |
| Total | 26 | 121 | 864 | 33 | 133 | 1177 |
| Grand total | 924 | 1134 | 1106 | 1496 | 968 | 5628 |

The list of clans differs somewhat from those given by Eilers and Bascom. Bascom's so:w'n yap, tipwin pwek, and tipwin we:y are extinct. Eilers, no doubt misinterpreting Hambruch's notes, lists two Mortlock or Truk clans, sapwinipik and sorr, as Ponapean. Bascom shows three divisions of the Tipwin man clan which here are lumped together.

In classifying to island of origin native classificatory ideas were followed. This no doubt has resulted in a number of errors; for example, a person born on Ponape of an out-islander mother is classed according to origin of the mother, even though the father is Ponapean; in the converse case the person is classed as Ponapean. But a number of clans are shared between Ponape, Mokil, Ngatik, and Pingelap, and it is very probable as a result that there has been inconsistent treatment in classification to island of nativity. The presence of a number of Gilbertese clans on Pingelap and Ngatik also is a complicating factor; some of the people classed as Gilbert Islanders are probably natives of Pingelap and Ngatik, and vice versa; moreover, Gilbertese clans are patrilineal, in contrast to those of all other Micronesian islands, and in cases of marriages with natives of other islands clan affiliation is often in doubt.

THE WEY ORGANIZATION

Ponape, as it is presently constituted politically, is divided into five independent states or tribes (wey).^{*} These are Kiti, Sokas, Net, U, and Matolenim.^{**} In each of them there are two lines of chiefs, headed respectively by a Nanmarki and a Nanken.^{***} The wey are organized on a feudal basis, being subdivided into a number of sections (kówsap) whose heads (kawn or sówmas) are appointed by and formerly held their fiefs as vassals under the principal wey chiefs. Politically most of the sections are organized similarly to the wey. The sections are further subdivided into farmsteads (páliensap) occupied by separate households whose relationships to the section heads was likewise a feudal one. In theory all the land belonged ultimately to the Nanmarki and Nanken, who received regular tribute and whose rule was absolute.

^{*}Neither term, state or tribe, is a very satisfactory one as will be seen from the description to follow. The Germans used the term Bezirk, which the Americans have translated as "district." This term is too strictly a geographical one to be adequate. The Japanese use of the word "village" is misleading, since no village organization exists. The writer therefore prefers the native term wey.

^{**}These are spelled according to common usage in the older literature; Sokas has a number of variants as Jokaj, Chokoits, etc; Matolenim is frequently Matalanim. By Dr. Paul L. Garvin's transcription they are kiti, sóks:s, net, u, and matolenim.

^{***}Ná:nmwarrki and Ná:nken, but for convenience they will be spelled according to a more frequent usage.

CHART A

A-line of titles

pá:li sowpéyiti
(A-line)

[illegible]

| /-----U-----/ | | | | | Net-----/ | | | | | Sokas-----/ | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|----|-------------|---|----|----|--|
| K | L | M | *N | O | *P | Q | S | T | U | V | W | *X | Y | |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | 4 | 6 | |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | | 5 | | |
| | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | | | 8 | |
| | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | | | 6 | | |
| 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 10 | |
| 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 | | 8 | | |
| 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | | 9 | | |
| | | | 11 | | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | | | | | | |
| 11 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 12 | | | 15 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 11 | 12 | 12 | 14 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 13 | 13 | 12 | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | 14 | 14 | 13 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 15 | 15 | 16 | 12 | | | | | 9 | |

5
7 6
5
7
8 12
10
11 5
7

13
7 11

4
11
12
13

CHART B

B-line of titles

[illegible]

Explanation of Charts A & B

Columns:

- A: from two handwritten manuscripts, one prepared by Henry Nanpei, former chief A6 of Kiti, and now in the hands of his son, Oliver Nanpei, present A6; and one prepared by Selten, deceased brother of present Chief B1 of Matolenim. Both written about 1920 or 1925. Apparently applies to all wey.
- B: Hambruch, II. A-list applies to Kiti, Matolenim, and U, B-list apparently only to Matolenim.
- C: Chief A1 of Matolenim.
- D: Chief B1 of Matolenim, October 4; D2, same informant, October 28.
- E: Warren Kehoe
- F: Bascom, 46.
- G: Hahl, Ethn. Notizblatt. II, 6-7.
- H: Chief A6 of Kiti
- I: Lepentelur of Kiti
- J: Bascom, 45.
- K: Chief A2 of U
- L: Wife of Chief A1 of U
- M: Chief B1 of U
- N: Saulik of Awak
- O: Bascom, 47
- P: Chief B1 of Net, July 18; verified separately by Chief B2 of Net
- Q: Chief B1 of Net, Aug. 8
- R: Chief B2 of Net
- S: Chief A1 of Net
- T: Bascom, 48
- U: Chief B2 and Secretary of Sokas
- V: Alberto
- W: Kwan
- X: Bascom, 49
- Y: Hambruch, II. The numbers in this column are adjusted by adding one in each case, since Hambruch begins with A2 as his first title, due to the lack of a Nanmarki in Sokas.

Columns with an asterisk preceding the letter at their head are to be consulted, under the appropriate wey name, for purposes of reference wherever a title is indicated in the body of this report by A or B followed by a number; e.g., a reference to Chief A7 of Kiti, should be looked up under column *H in Chart A and found to be the ná:lik lápalap title. Columns starred have been chosen, somewhat arbitrarily in some cases, as probably the most accurate.

The two lines of wey chiefs are each composed of a series of titles which have a definite order. Of these the first twelve titles are considered as the most important, but the lists are much longer than twelve. The top titles in each line consist, for the most part, of the senior males of a particular sub-clan, which is different in each wey. Following Bascom, the line of chiefs headed by the Nanmarki (pá:li sowpéyti) will be referred to as the A-line, and the line headed by the Nanken (pá:li ná:nken) as the B-line. If the Nanmarki is considered as A1 the other titles then follow A2, A3, A4, etc. Similarly the Nanken is B1, and is followed by B2, B3, B4, etc. The A and B lines may also be referred to as the royalty and the nobility respectively, but without implying the European connotations of these terms. The lists of A and B titles are given in the accompanying charts 1 and 2.

The Net Series of Titles

In Net the present series of A and B titles have been imitated from the other wey. Net did not have Nanmarki and Nanken lines until Governor Kersting made the change in late German times. The then Lépen Net became Nanmarki, the Ná:nsawsset became Nanken. The two older lines as remembered by a living informant are:

| A | B |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Lépen Net (A1) | 1. Ná:nsawsset (A2) |
| 2. Sâwlik en Ta:wn | 2. Krow'n Ro:y (B1) |
| 3. Sawkó:ŋ (A3) | 3. Máta:w en Ro:y (A4) |
| 4. Sâwlik en Pópaŋ | 4. Lú:ware:y (Ab) |
| 5. Sâwlik en Sókøle | 5. Ná:nmaŋa:w en Kípa:r (A5) |

The figures in parentheses are given in the order Hambruch lists them. But several informants who gave less complete lists put Ná:nsawset, like Hambruch, as A2, and most of them say that there was no double series of titles in Net until German times.

The Nankens and Nansaw'sets remembered are, beginning with the latest:

1. Joseph. Clan 6, sub-clan Lúkelapalap
2. Augustino. Clan 6, sub-clan Lúkelapalap
3. Paulino Clan 9, sub-clan Sow'n márekerik
(The last Nánsaw'set and first Nanken)
4. Maximino Clan 9, sub-clan Sow'n márekerik
- 5-10. Members of Clan 7, the same clan which furnishes the A-title holders. (No. 8 or 9 was involved in the Palang-Kiti wars, estimated to have occurred about 1820 or 1830.)

Informants insist that Clan 7 was unique in that its members regularly intermarried with each other; enough statements are available to indicate that there may be some foundation to the charge. If this is the case it would have been possible for two intermarrying sub-clans to array themselves as the two lines of titles. Clan 7 is the one clan whose sub-clans are not named, and the exact affiliation by sub-clan of any dead chief is difficult to recall, since affiliation of living persons is always given with reference to the present senior man of the sub-clan. In other wey it is often possible to place a title on one side or the other by recollection of the clan of its holder, but this would be impossible in such a situation. Hence it is easy to understand the confusion in the minds of living informants as to whether there was one line or two, until the time of Maximino, the first B1 who was not a member of Clan 7.

Clans and Classes

The two ruling lines correspond roughly to the two ruling sub-clans of each wey. In theory and probably in fact in earlier days, the first twelve titles of each line belong to the twelve senior males of each ruling sub-clan. These sub-clans may, like the titles they hold, therefore be referred to as the A and B, or the royal and noble, sub-clans. In each wey they formerly intermarried exclusively, hence all high chiefs carried royal blood on one side and noble blood on the other. Infant betrothal, which once ensured such intermarriage, has fallen into disuse owing to missionary influences, but the proper type of marriage is still preferred.

The royal and noble sub-clans which regularly furnish the A1 and B1 of the different wey are as follows:

| | A | B |
|-----------|---|--|
| Kiti | Clan 4 (Tipwin man tǝntǝl) sub-clan Lipǝrelǝn formerly sub-clan I:nanwǝ:yǝs | Clan 11, sub-clan Lipeytǝ:tǝ |
| Sokas | Clan 7, sub-clans bear no names. | Clan 6, sub-clan Tiqǝlǝqǝl |
| Net | Clan 7, sub-clans bear no names | Clan 6, sub-clan Lukǝlǝpalap formerly clan 9, sub-clan Mǝrǝkorǝk |
| U | Clan 2, sub-clan Sow'n pǝsetǝ | Clan 1 formerly; has been more recently clan 9, 8, and 5 |
| Matolenim | Clan 13, sub-clan I:nǝnkǝtǝw (also called U:putǝnmǝ:y) | Clan 9, sub-clan U:putǝnǝ:tǝ or clan 2, sub-clan Sow'n lǝ:taw |

In some cases more than one sub-clan is eligible to fill the office of Nanken, so the possible marriage partners for the A-line in a traditional alliance are thereby increased; but in no case does the converse hold. Today, though the tendency to marry between the two lines persists, and strong parental pressure to make a proper alliance continues, missionary influence has encouraged young people to make their own decisions, and marriage with commoners is frequent. In the wey of Net, out of the first fifteen titles on the A side, all but one belongs to the royal clan (7); the fathers of six are of clan 6 and one has a clan 9 father. (clans 6 and 9 are the two noble clans and are eligible to B-titles). The fathers of the others all belong to other clans; in other words, less than half of the marriages in the parental generation followed the ideal pattern of A - B marriage. Of the first fifteen B titles five have Clan 6 occupants, three Clan 9, one a man whose mother is from the Mortlock Islands but whose clan is equated with Clan 9, and the remainder belong to other clans. The fathers of seven are of Clan 7, the royal clan, the others not; and only six marriages in the parental generation were of the traditional type.

The highest titles of the A-line form the royal class, the highest titles of the B-line the noble class. With these two classes are equated the sub-clans which hold most of the titles; a man of another sub-clan who holds a high title is, however, also royal or noble. All other persons are commoners (áramss mwa:l). A member of a ruling sub-clan in one wey may be a commoner in another wey.

O'Connell refers to a caste of slaves known as nigurts which Hambruch and Eilers apparently accept uncritically. No authorities subsequent to O'Connell refer to nigurts; where they employ the term "slave" it is apparent that what is meant is "commoner." Because O'Connell describes his slaves as darker in skin than the upper castes and suggests Negrito affinities Hambruch and Eilers connect them with the legendary small dark aborigines of Ponape called liát; and this in turn is connected with the term for servant, látu and lifu (male and female servants.) It is difficult, however, to take these speculations seriously. If one accepts the aboriginal liát one must also accept other legendary races of beings, including a species of flying cannibal. Informants suggest that O'Connell's dark race was composed of fishermen, who spend more time in the sun than other persons.

In any event, a slave caste has not existed on Ponape since white contact. Commoners may have had a very low status formerly, but they were never considered chattels of the chiefs, and they were free to take up residence in any locality where they could receive a grant of land. Their status corresponded much more closely to that of a feudal peasant than to a slave. As for servants, these were usually dependent relatives or persons who had been banished from their own homes and taken refuge with their friends elsewhere. There was no sort of traffic in commoners or servants and no taking of prisoners of war for purposes of enslavement.

Essentially, then, there are three social strata: royalty, nobility, and the great mass of commoners. Status within each of

the two ruling lines is finely graded. First of all, the sub-clans of the ruling clans are in a ranked series; they are in most cases considered to be descended from a number of sisters and they are ranked according to the relative age of their eponymous ancestresses. Only the higher sub-clans are normally eligible to take high titles, and the lower ones rate as commoners. Within the sub-clan each man is graded according to seniority of descent, and titles are distributed roughly according to the same standard. Actually, then, no two men have the same rank. Even two men holding the same title in different wey are not equal, for the wey are likewise graded, Matolenim holding the highest position, followed in order by U, Kiti, Sokas, and Net. Nor are heads of sections on the same level, for various sections have superior status.

Commoners, that is, the people belonging to sub-clans other than the two ruling lines, fall roughly into one class, but with minor gradations, since the lesser wey titles, kawn titles, and lesser section titles all count as commoners too. Within each commoner clan grading proceeds according to seniority again, and and section titles are handed out with some respect to such seniority. The commoner clans themselves are not graded with reference to each other, but they are treated differentially. Some clans, such as Clan 10, are few in number and scattered, hence they are handled somewhat more cavalierly than others; formerly they might not get land from the Nanmarki or from the kawn, and they are ignored when it comes to distribution of food at feasts. Without any great titles and without owning any section it is easy for the chiefs to give them the harder tasks to do. But such clans might rise in the scale by feats of war. Thus in Net Clan 5 has been held to be higher than it is in U, because a member was a

great warrior of Net once and was killed in an ancient war; and the clan once possessed section 11 of Net. Now that a member of Clan 5 has become Nanken of U the clan has risen in that wey too.

Classes of Chiefs

The A-line has been referred to as pá:li sowpéyti, in contrast to the B-line, pá:li ná:nken. The term sowpéyti, however, varies considerably in its modern usage. Literally it means those who turn their faces forward, i.e., sit in the place of honor on the main platform of the community house (nas) facing the mass of people who look up toward them. Some natives say it means only the Nanmarki and Nanken, the ol (male) sowpéyti, and their wives, the li (female) sowpéyti, who sit thus at feasts. Others make it include all the higher titles in the A-line. Gulick uses it thus in his vocabulary, making it a dialectic variant of the term monsap. One informant uses the term to mean all persons eligible to become Nanmarki or Nanken; others, only chiefs A1-A4 and B1-B4; another restricts it to chiefs A1-A4, making A5-A12 chiefs oli:so and chiefs B1-B4 pá:li ná:nken. One definition is that any A-line chief who is in the same sub-clan as the Nanmarki is sowpéyti, but A1-A4 are the first class of sowpéyti. A number of informants include the wives of the Nanmarki and Nanken under the rubric. Chief B1 of Net says that until he reached the title of B4 he was not sowpéyti but seri:so. Other informants give explanations combining various of these

definitions and some use the term simply to mean those in authority.

If Gulick is correct the seating arrangements must at one time have been different, since at present the lower A-line titles do not sit on the main platform of the community house but are required to be at work in the central ground-level area (nánras); possibly the literal meaning of the term has been extended to these potential occupants of the seats of honor.

The term mo:nsap is similarly in loose usage today. Literally it means the first of the land, which natives interpret as those persons entitled to first fruits, and by some it is used in this literal meaning, thus including not only Nanmarki and Nanken but also section chiefs. Others restrict it to the Nanmarki and Nanken, or to chiefs A1-A4 and B1-B4. O'Connell and Gulick use it as synonymous with the A-line of chiefs in opposition to the B-line, the seri:so. Several native informants agree with Hambruch in making it include both lines; but Eilers' classification and discussion of the relative positions of the two lines and the commoners is based upon a misunderstanding of Hambruch's notes and must be disregarded.

The B-line is customarily referred to as seri:so, literally royal children, and about this term there is less equivocation. But some informants exclude the Nanken (B1) from this definition, and one makes chiefs B1-B4 the pá:li ná:nken and only lower B-titles seri:so. The Nanken of Matolenim, who does not extend the term sowpéyti to the B1, calls B1, B2, and B4 iso, and uses seri:so only for B3 and chiefs lower than B4.

A rarer term is oli:so, literally royal men. This unmistakably means the A-line. But informants disagree as to whether it includes all the A-titles. One man, for example, says that it means only those titles from A7 down, and another makes it include chiefs below A4 only. The seri:so are considered to be the children of oli:so men, although this is not always strictly true, and owing to the intermarriage between the two lines the oli:so are actually just as much children of the seri:so. Although the A and B lines of titles are identified with particular sub-clans, the terms oli:so and seri:so are extended to members of other sub-clans and clans when these reach high positions in the series; e.g., the B-line in Net is supposed to be limited to members of clans 6 and 9, but the B2, who is in clan 2, is known as seri:so too.

Members of commoner clans may also be seri:so. In Net the children of males of clan 7 (the A-line clan) and females of other clans than 6 or 9 are reckoned as seri:so, but not as "real" seri:so. (They are also called i:pwɪ:p sowpéyɪti, that is, children of sowpéyɪti, the term sowpéyɪti meaning A-line in this case). They are eligible to advance in the B-series as high as B2 but no higher. Thus the B2 of Net, mentioned previously, who had a clan 7 father, cannot advance. In Kiti the son of an A-line father by a woman not of the B-line can rise only to B3, for the title of B2 is reserved for a particular clan.

The children of a man of A-title are thus all seri:so, regardless of the clan of the mother. But the children

of men of the B-line may be either oli:so or seri:so. They are oli:so if the mother is a member of the royal (A) clan, seri:so (or i:pwi:p seri:so) if she is a member of a commoner clan.

The children of females of the royal or noble sub-clans by commoner fathers belong to the same class as their mothers, since they inherit clan membership matrilineally, but they are of lower status than those with proper fathers, as noted elsewhere.

In the next generation, commoner children of i:pwi:p sowpéyti and i:pwi:p seri:so fathers are still reckoned as a sort of seri:so; they are called wa'n mwa:ŋ sowpéyti, wa'n mwa:ŋ ná:nken,^{*} or wa'n mwa:ŋ followed by the clan name of the A-line or B-line grandfather. (wa'n mwa:ŋ means fruit of Cyrtosperma). Informants disagree as to whether such diluted seri:so remain such after the royal or noble grandparent dies; some say they do only if married to royalty or nobility themselves.

Children of a Nanmarki or Nanken are of two sorts. All children born to either of these chiefs before they have been promoted to the highest titles are known as tiya:kpe; those born after accession to the titles of Nanmarki and Nanken are i:pwinpo:nwárawar (i:pwi, birth; po:n, upon; wárawar, ditch; referring to the chasm which separates the men of highest honor from all others). An i:pwinpo:nwárawar has great wa:w (honor), receives more deference than anyone else, and sits in the highest position in the community house, above his elder brothers, if any, who are tiya:kpe. But *na:nken instead of seri:so in this case.

tiya:kepe, because of their seniority by birth, receive higher titles. The present Nanken of Kiti is the only regnant i:pwino:nwárawar; but if he had had an older brother who was born before the father of both became Nanmarki the brother would have preceded him as Nanken. The distinction, then, is one that affects deference patterns but not the titles themselves.

A man would normally go ahead of his older brother only if the two had different mothers and the mother of the elder was a commoner, the mother of the younger a member of the royalty or nobility.

A commoner may be an i:pwino:nwárawar; such was the case of Henry Nanpei, whose father, Nanku, was a Nanken but whose mother belonged to a commoner clan. He was honored very highly by Paul, the Nanmarki of Kiti, who constantly deferred to him and gave him one of his own titles, Ró:sa. Some of the power wielded today by Oliver, son of Henry, derives from the wa:w (honor) inherited thus second-hand.

Some informants use as equivalent to i:pwino:nwárawar the term seri:so, thus adding still another definition to that already overburdened term. They distinguish children born to a Nanmarki, seri:so en sowpeyti, from those born to a Nanken, seri:so en na:nken, and both of these from children born to a lesser A-chief or to a Nanmarki prior to his promotion to that title, i:pwil:p en sowpeyti, and those born to a lesser B-chief or to a Nanken prior to his becoming Nanken, i:pwil:p en na:nken.

THE SECTION ORGANIZATION

Each wey is divided into a number of ko:wsap or ka:wsap, referred to as sections. On a miniature scale they parallel the political organization of the wey. Corresponding to the A and B lines of titles are two (in most cases) lines of section titles, which will be referred to as the X and Y lines. The chief of each section (ka:wn or so:wmas), the Xl, heads the X-line just as the Nanmarki, the Al, heads the A-line of titles in the wey. The Yl, however, has nothing like the importance of the Bl. The X and Y lines, like the A and B lines, are referred to by natives as pá:li sowpéyti and pá:li ná:nken. A typical section organization, that of A:nipeynpa: (section 16) of Kiti, is as follows:

X-line

1. Krawlikiya:k
2. Sáwon en á:nipeyn
3. Á:wnpo:npey'n á:nipeyn
4. Ná:lik en á:nipeyn
5. Ná:nsa:w'n á:nipeyn
6. Lú:won sá:pst en á:nipeyn
7. Lepé:'ririn á:nipeyn
8. Ká:nikiririn á:nipeyn
9. Kro:wn en póniyala á:nipeyn
10. Ká:niki en समय á:nipeyn
11. I:so:a en á:nipeyn
12. Ár'en krow en á:nipeyn
- etc.

Y-line

1. Seriná:y
2. Ká:niki en á:nipeyn
3. Ná:nawa en á:nipeyn
4. Ná:nkrow'ns á:nipeyn
5. I:so:alap en á:nipeyn
6. Lépen máta:w en á:nipeyn
7. Lómpwo:y en á:nipeyn
8. Ná:nsa:wm en á:nipeyn
9. Sítin á:nipeyn
10. Lépen á:nipeyn
11. Lú:wónos en á:nipeyn
12. Na:npo:npe:yn á:nipeyn
- etc.

There follows a list of the sections for each wey:

Kiti Sections

X1

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Ro:y | Sáwan en Ro:y |
| 2. Ré:ntu | Ná:nkro:wn Réntu |
| 3. Mútók | Ná:nsa:wset en Mútók |
| 4. Só:wn Kro:wn | Sáwlik en Pale:yti |
| 5. Ólepél | Lépenma a:w en Ólepél |
| 6. Pó:rasap | á:wnwine Pó:rasap |
| 7. Ónonmwòkòt | Nánawa en Ónonmwòkòt |
| 8. Pó:sayn | Ná:nkro:wn Pó:sayn |
| 9. Kápi:ne | Sáwlik en Kápi:ne |
| 10. Na:npá:lap | Sáwlik en Pá:lap |
| 11. Pá:na:ys | Ná:nma a:w en Kápi:ne |
| 12. Pó:s | á:w'n Róloq |
| 13. Mwòkòt | Sáwlik en Mwòkòt |
| 14. Sòmoy | Ma Sòmoy |
| 15. á:nipeynpéwe | Sáwlik en Sòmoy |
| 16. á:nipeynpá: | Krawlikiyak |
| 17. Pwok | Sáwan en Pwok |
| 18. Kípa:r | Ká:niki en Kípa:r |
| 19. Ró:nki ti | Kraw en We:yn |
| 20. Pwóypwoy | Rítiq en Pwóypwoy |
| 21. Sálapwuk | Sá:wn |
| 22. Ma:nt | Kasa |
| 23. Wónik | Lépen Wónik |
| 24. Láwatik | Sí:pwen Láwatik |
| 25. Ó:re | Sáwlik en Kápi:ne |
| 26. Ti:yáti | Ná:nma a:w en Ti:yáti |

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 27. Pótapót | Ká:niki en Aka:k |
| 28. Ala:wso | Na:nsa:w en Ilew |
| 29. Sáwi:so | Na:nsa:wen Sáwi:so |
| 30. Sá:ynwar | Sáwlik en Sá:ynwar |
| 31. Páli:apá:yləŋ | Ná:nmaʔa:w en Páli:apá:yləŋ |
| 32. Mará:w | Sáwlik en Mará:w |
| 33. Təmpəreləŋ | Sáwlik en Ləʔ |
| 34. Pwutəy | Lú:wən en Pwutəy |
| 35. Páloŋ | Ná:nmaʔa:wən páloŋ |
| 36. Tí:yan | Ná:nsa:wset en Páloŋ |
| 37. Na:npá:yes | Sówkəŋ en Pá:yes |

Some informants include Sáptaka:y as a section; this is inland, and by others is included in section 27. Here is the former seat of the Nanmarki of Kiti. Today it has only one inhabitant, a man of clan 16.

Larger political divisions, now only of historical interest, are:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Wónə or óneləŋ | : sections 1 - 14 |
| Lúkap | : sections 15 - 21 |
| Kápiləŋ (Kiti proper) | : sections 22-34 |
| Lé:ynpwel | : sections 35 - 37 |

In Kiti proper most of the sections adhered to the Nanmarki, except for sections 25 and 31, which were under the Nanken. Of the sections that belonged to the Nanmarki, section 32 was directly under chief A7, section 27 was under the A3, sections 28 and 29 were under the A2, and sections 30, 33, and 34 were provinces of the Sa:wkíʔi. The other sections served the Nanmarki directly. All of these lesser chiefs owed allegiance to the Nanmarki, and apparently, at least for a period of time, a

man who possessed the titles also possessed the section, regardless of whether he lived there or elsewhere. Wóne was also divided between the Nanmarki and Nanken; the Nanmarki had sections 1, 4-7, 12, 14-16; to the Nanken belonged sections 2, 8-11, 13.* To the formerly independent kawn of section 35 two other sections, 36 and 37, owed allegiance; after a series of wars during which he was for a time ruler of all Kiti his title was given to the chief B2 who held the three sections in fief to the Nanmarki. A number of sections, collectively known as Lúkap, were independent for a period, later came under clan 11, and the Nanken, who is a member of that clan, was regarded as their overlord with the exception of section 21, which was under the sa:wmm who in turn was enfeoffed to the Nanmarki.

*This is in contradiction to Bascom, p. 43, who says that the Nanmarki owned all of Kiti proper, the Nanken all of Wona. Some of these sections changed hands later, as noted elsewhere.

Sokas Sections

Pálikir (the mainland part of Sokas)

1. Ná:nipi:l (formerly in Sokas; now belongs to Net)
2. Tómará
3. Pálikir proper) reckoned as one
4. I:ol (in modern Pálikirpa:)) section,
5. Líkiye (in modern Pálikirpéwe)) Pálikir, today
6. Ó:wmor (formerly; now part of section 7)
7. Sékorə
8. Pó:nmal or Ná:n po:nmal
9. Ná:nkuwi (formerly; now part of section 8)

Sokas Island

10. Péytiye)
11. U:tú:i)
12. Sákaralap) modern Pingelap
13. Mwálok)
14. Lupúr or Lop)
15. Nané:yr)
16. Tenpey) modern Mokil
17. Támwero:y or Ná:nimwinsap en epwel)
18. Tulétik (modern Ngatik in part)
19. Róyo (modern Ngatik and Te in part)
20. I:pwál (modern Ngatik, Te, and Lukunor in part)
21. Sóleṭi (modern Lukunor in part and all of Satawan)

Pake:yn atoll

22. Pake:yn

The modern sections on Sokas Island are more nearly villages than elsewhere in Ronape, and are inhabited mostly by natives of the islands whose names they bear.

Kawn of Sokas Sections

| <u>Kawn</u> (X1) | Clan of <u>Kawn</u> |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Sâwlik en Sókøle | 7 |
| 2. Sâwlik en Tómará | 6 |
| 3. Lépen Pálikir | 9 |
| 4. Krow en Wen | 9 |
| 5. No:s Pálikir | 9 |
| 6. Ná:nmata:w en óre | 7 |
| 7. Lépen Sékoro | 17 |
| 8. Sâwlik en Kápin | 7 |
| 9. Krown en Sókøle | 7 |
| 10. Só:wnkøŋ Féytiye | 6 |
| 11. Ná:nmata:w en óre | 7 |
| 12. | 6 |
| 13. Só:wmata:w en Sókø:s | 13 |
| 14. Máreke:tik en Sókø:s | 4 (or 12?) |
| 15. | 7 |
| 16. No hereditary <u>kawn</u> ; this was Nanmarki's seat | 7 |
| 17. Lómpwo:y lápalap en Sókø:s | 6 |
| 18. Krown en Tulétik | 5 |
| 19. Ná:nken Sókø:s | 6 |
| 20. Ná:llaym en Sókø:s | 5 |
| 21. A:w'n Sókø:s | 4 |
| 22. Sá:wni | 7 |

The kawn of sections 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, and 21 are represented as having wey titles. This is because of the disruption of the political units of Sokas following the 1911 rebellion and expulsions and the resettlement of Sokas by out-islanders in villages which are the modern political divisions; these events have somewhat dimmed the memory of informants, who apparently remember better the highest wey chiefs living in a section than the possessors of the section kawn titles.

In the other four wey Bascom's lists of sections diverges only slightly from mine, but in the case of Sokas the differences are so great that it is well to give my informant's interpretations of his lists. Bascom's section S2 is equivalent to my section 15. In each of the following pairs Bascom's section is given first and is considered by informants as a farmstead, not a section, within the section (as given by me) shown as the second member of the pair: S6 - 11; S9 - 21; S16 - 7; S18 - 5; S19 - 5; S20 - 4; S21 - 4; S23 - 4; S24 - 3; S25 - 3; S26 - 2; S28 - 2.

U Sections

| | XI | YI |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Awakpa: | Sálik en Awakpa: | Krown en Awakpa: |
| 2. Awakpéwe | Sáwlik en Awakpéwe | Krown en Awakpéwe |
| 3. Mětíp en Awak | Sáwlik en Mětíp | Só:wmaṭaw'n Mětíp |
| 4. Mětíp en U: | Sáwlik en Mětíp | Só:wmaṭaw'n Mětíp |
| 5. Kipa:r | Lú:wón Kipa:r | Ná:nmaṭaw'n Kipar |
| 6. So:na | A:w'n So:na | Sáwlik en So:na |
| 7. Na:n U: | * | |
| 8. Pálap | Rítín en Pálap | S:o:wmaka en Pálap |
| 9. Tí:yón | Lú:wón en Tí:yón | Só:wmaṭa:w en Tí:yón |
| 10. Sálatak | Só:wmaṭ a:w en Sálatak | Ná:nkrow en Sálatak |
| 11. Ro:y | Sáwlik en Tí:ónso | Só:wmaka en Ro:y |
| 12. Takayew | Kélak en Takayew | Só:wmaṭaw'n Takayew |
| 13. Tá:pak | Sáwón en Tá:pak | Só:wmaṭaw'n Tá:pak |
| 14. Ma:nṭ pe:yṭi | Lépen Ma:nṭ | Sáwlik en Ma:nṭ |
| 15. Ma:nṭ pe:yṭak | Sáwṭel en Ma:nṭ | Lépen Ma:nṭ |

Sections 12-15 are islands within the lagoon.

Awak was formerly a single section and was split in a quarrel over succession of its chief. Under the Japanese sections 4 to 9 were combined and called by the name of section 7. Then the B3 of U, who was a commoner but had received his title because he was a policeman under the Japanese, complained that he wasn't being respected and threatened to leave U; so Na:n U was split into U Kayew (U No. 1) and U Kariyaw (U No. 2), the former consisting of sections 8 and 9 and half of section 7, the latter of the remainder, and the B3 was made kawn of one of these. Today U has been reconstituted as in pre-Japanese times.

* The present Lú:wón en Pwúto:y acts as kawn, but the title bears no relationship to the job; Na:n U is the ná:nwey (capitol) of U and has no hereditary chief.

Net Sections

X1

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Pá:rem | Lépen Pá:rem pe:y |
| 2. Láxor | Lépen Láxor |
| 3. Tó:loka:y | Kórom en Tó:loka:y |
| 4. Po:nmá:xa | Lú:ware:y Net |
| 5. Pé:yle | Ná:nsa:w en Ilew |
| 6. ró:npe:yl | Sáwlik en Net |
| 7. Áreke | Krow en Ro:y |
| 8. Lúkopas | Sawkó:u |
| 9. SoKoronká:wki | Ná:napas en Net |
| 10. Lépro:y | Ná:nmaṭa:w'n iṭet |
| 11. Támwero:y | Máṭa:w en Ro:y |
| 12. Ní:nsoksok | |
| 13. Na:np:onsap | |
| 14. Pa:li:áys | Sáwlik en Ays |
| 15. Pá:nimwinsap | Saw Net |
| 16. Ká:ma:r | Sowká:ma:r |
| 17. Mé:ytik | Lépen Pá:rem ka:p |
| 18. Á:yrka | Sówmaṭa:w en Sápalap |
| 19. Ná:nipi:l | Sáwlik en Sókøle |
| 20. Meséniyox | Ná:llaym en Metip |
| 21. Ninsé:yta:m | |
| 22. Pó:rakiyēt | Ná:nawa en Meséniyox |
| 23. Toloniyer | Krow en To:ropop |

Sections 1 and 2 are islands. Section 19 formerly belonged to Sokas. Most of section 20 is now the site of the town of Colonia and is not usually reckoned as under Net. A

former farmstead in section 20, Kómonla:yt, is today sometimes considered as a section. Section 22 was also formerly part of section 20. Section 3 is sometimes considered as two sections, To:loka:ypewe and To:loka:ypa:

The sections were anciently grouped into larger divisions. Sections 16-19 are collectively known as Sapalap, and were under the kawn of section 19. Sections 13-15 were under the kawn of section 14. Sections 9-11 were headed by the kawn of section 11. Sections 5-8 and a section called Leptómara, consisting of modern sections 4 and 9, were under the kawn of section 7 (though overlordship of section 9 could not have been simultaneously with that of the kawn of section 14). Informants distinguish Net proper from the rest of Net as including sections 3 to 14 (some say 3 to 12).

In Net the sections nowadays have been reduced to mere geographical significance. The functioning unit for administrative and ceremonial purposes are the pwin, artificial units into which the sections have been grouped. These are as follows:

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| Pwin 1 | Section 1 |
| Pwin 2 | Section 3 |
| Pwin 3 | Sections 4-11 |
| Pwin 4 | Sections 12-15 |
| Pwin 5 | Sections 17-19 |
| Pwin 6 | Section 16 |
| Pwin 7 | Sections 20-23 and Kómonla:yt |

Section 2 is not included because it is unoccupied, being used by the civil administration. It should be noted that whereas the section numbers as given here, for Net and other wey, are of the writer's devising for use in reference, the pwin numbers are used by the natives.

Matolenim Sections

| Xl | |
|---|--|
| lépen aló:kap | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en í:pwit̃ek | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en kínakap | |
| sáwtapa en áru | |
| lépen ó:wa | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en mesí:sow | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en lúkop | |
| lépen maṭa:w en méṭip | |
| sálapat en ṭólopw:ayl | |
| lú:wan ho:s en kápine | |
| ké:lak en tákayew | |
| sáwle en éti:elōṅ | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en kítam | |
| lép lé:ṭaw | |
| sáwan en péytik | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en ṭi:áṭi | |
| só:wkoporo | |
| sáwlik en sápweroḱ | |
| kōrōm en kápro:y | |
| lú:wan no:s en támro:y | |
| sáwlik en léyak | |
| No hereditary <u>kawn</u> ; this is Nanmarki's seat. Chief All acts as head. | |
| ní:nakap | |
| a:w'n ánipas | |
| kániki en áka:k | |
| lépen wápar | |
| sáwlik en loṭ | |
| lépen set | |

| Yl | |
|---|--|
| só:wmaṭa:w en aló:kap | |
| ná:nkrow en í:pwit̃ek | |
| lépenkin en kínakap | |
| sáwlik en áru | |
| sáwlik en ó:wa | |
| sáwlik en mesí:sow | |
| so:w lúkop | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en méṭip | |
| a:w'n ṭólopw:ayl | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en kápine | |
| sáwlik en tákayew | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en éti:elōṅ | |
| sáwlik en kítam | |
| ná:no en lé:ṭaw | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en páṭlap | |
| sáwlik en ṭi:áṭi | |
| sípwin láwatik | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en sápweroḱ | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en kápro:y | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en támro:y | |
| ná:nkrown léyak | |
| No hereditary <u>kawn</u> ; this is Nanmarki's seat. Chief All acts as head. | |
| sí:p | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en ánipas | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en áka:k | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en wápar | |
| krown en loṭ | |
| só:wmaṭa:w en loṭ | |

Sections 21, 22, and 23 constitute the island of Tamon. A number of political subdivisions between the wey and section levels exist. These are ánimwan (sections 1-9), sápalap (sections 10-18), nánwey (sections 19-23) and *lépenset* (sections 24-28). Though they undoubtedly have historical significance they are not today anything but geographical terms. There are titles of *lépenset* and *lépen ánimwan*, as well as a number of lesser ones bearing these geographical suffixes, but they bear no political relationship nowadays to any of these areas. They are considered higher than section titles.

There are, however, two titles above kawn level. These are krown en lé:ɬaw, who is traditionally overlord of sections 12, 13, and 14, (nowadays also 10 and 11) and *lépen merr*, who has the same relationship with sections 15 and 16 (plus 17 and 18 in more recent times). The krown en lé:ɬaw, though holding his fief under the Nanken, belongs always to the clan of the Nanmarki. The *lépen merr* holds his under the Nanmarki but belongs to another clan; clan 7; he has a particularly high status and may sit alongside the Nanmarki at feasts (as may the *lépenset*).

The Japanese set up a new organization consisting of six major divisions called pwin, as follows:

1. Sections 1-5
2. " 6-9
3. " 10-14
4. " 15-18
5. " 24-28
6. " 19-23

There are no pwin titles, but various chiefs were made heads of the pwin. E.g., in Pwin 1 the head is ná:nmaɬa:w en

pá:loŋ, in Pwin 2 he is Chief A3.

The sections traditionally are divided in ownership between the Nanmarki and the Nanken. To the Nanmarki belong sections 1-5, 8-9, 11, 15-24, and 26-28; to the Nanken belong the others. Only some of the kawn belong to the same clans as the Nanmarki and Nanken.

Section Organization

The boundaries of the sections are very precisely known, and some appear to be very ancient. Nevertheless a process of splitting and of combination seems apparent. Section 11 of Kiti was formerly part of section 9. Section 2 of Matolenim was split off from section 12 in German times. Section 19 of Net was once a farmstead in a section called Na:nkap, and section 8 of Sokas was similarly a farmstead in a section known as Kápin; the boundaries and names are remembered in these cases, but when such areas are deserted and revert to wilderness they are not considered as the political units known as kowsap (sections) any longer. The various old sections which constitute modern Palikir (see the Sokas list of sections) show the process of combination at work. A number of pairs of sections bear the same names, suffixed pəwə (upper) and pa: (lower), in each case indicative of splitting. Titles in full are usually composed of three parts: the title proper, followed by the word ən (of), then the name of a geographical area. The fact that in each list of section titles a number of titles appear in which the geographical names which form part of them are different from the names of the section suggests a continual history of political reorganization and recombinations. For example the sáwlik ən sómoy is kawn not of sómoy (section 14 of Kiti) but of à:nipeynpéwə (section 15).

SECTION 15 OF KITI

There are a number of differences between the political organization of the wey and the section. The Xl's clan affiliation is less permanent, and there is no attempt, at least nowadays, within the section series ~~of~~ titles to preserve all titles in one line for a particular clan, in contrast with the wey series. The ideal is to have each clan and each family in the section represented in the series. In the X-line of section 16 of Kiti, of the first 12 titles only 5 are held by the clansmates of the Xl.

In section 15 of Kiti the organization is as follows:

| X | Clan | Y | Clan |
|--------------|------|-------------|------|
| 1. Cosmos | 16 | 1. Emereno | 15 |
| 2. Moses | 12 | 2. Jacques | 8 |
| 3. David | 15 | 3. Perna | 4 |
| 4. Ignace | 4 | 4. Petrigo | 16 |
| 5. Ignace | 16 | 5. Michael | 8 |
| 6. Luis | 15 | 6. Johannes | 8 |
| 7. Aleck | 12 | 7. Lucius | 8 |
| 8. Margarita | 16 | 8. Luciana | 8 |
| 9. Joseph | 15 | 9. Senio | 15 |

It is obvious that the parallel with the wey system has either broken down or it never was anything but a pale imitation. Since the issuance of deeds in German times the kawn no longer holds all the land in fief to the Nanmarki: his family therefore is in no more advantageous economic position than anyone else, and is less likely to monopolize the higher titles than formerly. The

population of a section is necessarily limited in contrast to that of the wey, and every man receives a title of some sort, for a small family cannot fill even the most important titles in one line and members of other clans are necessarily drawn upon. Moreover, since exclusive intermarriage of two clans does not exist on this political level kinship bonds and the obligations to reward fellow kinsmen with titles become dispersed over a number of clans.

In the small population of a section nearly everyone is related to everyone else; thus, in section 15 of Kiti, X6, X9, Y5, and Y9 are X1's grandsons; Y8 is his daughter; X8 and Y4 are children of his sister; and Y6 is a brother-in-law. As a result there is less feeling that a line of titles belongs to a single clan than there is on the wey level, and there is no objection to free movement between the two lines during a man's career of promotion. Thus the present X1 of section 15 was formerly Y1. Nevertheless, the tradition persists in section 15 that clan 15 has some proprietary right here; there are only five members of this clan left here, out of the population of 37, but all of them are included in the first 18 titles as shown above.

U seems to be the most conservative wey in keeping kawn titles in the same clan. The X1 titles of all the sections except five in U are supposed to belong to the same sub-clan of clan 2 as the A-line titles do. The exceptions are section 1, which belongs to clan 6; section 11 which has been under clan 11 but is now under clan 7; section 13, which should be under a kawn of clan 13 but has also had kawn of clan 8 and 9; and sections 2 and 5, which are under two different sub-clans of clan 2. In recent times section 8 has fallen under clan 5, section 9 under clan 10, section 12 under clans 13 and 15; the causes are various, including dying

out of the proper line and interference by the Japanese.

In the Y series of titles of U sections there is less regularity of inheritance. The YI titles of the fourteen sections belong to eight different clans at present, no clan having more than three sections, and in only one case is it possible to find a YI title persisting as much as three generations in one clan.

In contrast to U clan affiliations of the kawn in Kiti are apparently less stable. In the following list of Kiti sections the term "formerly" applies to an unspecified period of time:

| Section | Clan Affiliation of <u>kawn</u> formerly (by clan number) | Clan Affiliation at present (by clan number) |
|---------|--|---|
| 1. | 4 | 4 |
| 2. | 11 | 18 |
| 3. | 4 | 18 |
| 4. | 4 | 4 |
| 5. | 4 | 4 |
| 6. | 4 | 7 |
| 7. | 11 | 18 |
| 8. | 11 | 18 |
| 9. | 11 | 18 |
| 10. | 4 | 11 |
| 11. | 11 | 18 |
| 12. | 17 | 17 |
| 13. | 4 | 17 |
| 14. | 4 | 4 |
| 15. | 15 | 16 |
| 16. | 15 | 4 |
| 17. | 13 | 13 |
| 18. | 4 | 4 |
| 19. | 13 | 18 |
| 20. | 16 | 18 |
| 21. | 8 | 18 |
| 22. | 7 | 7 |
| 23. | 7 | 17 |
| 24. | 7 | 2 |
| 25. | 4 | 6 |
| 26. | 13 | 17 |
| 27. | 4 | 4 |
| 28. | 7 | 17 |
| 29. | 4 | 17 |
| 30. | 4 | 4 |
| 31. | 7 | 16 |
| 32. | 4 | 6 |
| 33. | 9 | 7 |

32.

34.
35.
36.

2
17
9

2
9
7

Most of the changes to clan 18 are due to the ownership of the sections under German deeds by a member of that clan, the A6 of Kiti, who is the richest man on the island.

Most informants agree that the kawn title should be inherited like that of A1, going first to younger brothers and then to eldest sister's sons in order of age; they lay the deviations from this rule to the effect of the division of the lands and the institution by the Germans of patrilineal inheritance. A number of instances were collected of patrilineal inheritance in pre-German times, but it should be remembered that the influence of the missionaries was also directed toward this end; as early as 1870 the Nanken of Kiti, who held about half of Kiti as overlord thereof, left his land to his son, Henry Nanpei, instead of to his successor, thereby founding the fortune of the Nanpei family. The chieftainship of section 26 of Kiti has been inherited patrilineally for at least 7 generations, going from a man of clan 16 to one of clan 9, then 4, 15, 7, 13, and now 17. On the other hand, a number of sections have adhered to matrilineal inheritance of the kawn title, regardless of how the land went; thus the title of kawn of section 30 of Kiti has gone to a man of clan 4 as far back as informants' memories served, and in section 15 of U for at least eight generations.

A man may hold a number of section titles simultaneously, having one "every place he works," i.e., wherever he holds lands or works lands for someone else. Thus the present X3 of Kiti section 16 is also Y1 of section 15.

The section organization is also different from the wey political organization in that the division into two lines of titles is less clearly marked. The fact that two sub-clans do not tend to monopolize the two lines as they do in the wey has already been pointed out. Where clansmates find themselves in opposite lines the distinction between the lines becomes blurred. For a number of sections it was impossible to obtain lists of titles ranged into two series; either the series have been forgotten or the dual system was never in force in some areas. The very minor role of the Yl in the section in contrast with that of the Bl in the wey indicates that the division into two lines is not very significant politically in the section. To repeat, the section organization has the appearance of an imitation, but a weak one, of the wey political system.

In the section the kawn may or may not belong to the royal or noble clans. If a man of clan 13 lives in a section of Matolenim which is under (read belonged for under formerly) to the Nanmarki, himself of clan 13, that man will be kawn if he is the only representative of the clan there; similarly if the section is under the Nanken and a member of his clan lives there he will be kawn. This at least is native theory. Such a kawn is in an advantageous position, for he has a freer hand in his section than a kawn who does not belong to one of the ruling clans. When he died the section did not revert to the Nanmarki, as did land belonging to men of other clans, but was inherited by strictly matrilineal rules; with other clans land inheritance was also matrilineal but might be modified at the will of the Nanmarki, to whom the land reverted prior to its issuance anew.

A wey chief, even if he were the highest man of title living in his section, was not necessarily the kawn thereof. At one time the A2, A3, and B2 of Net all lived in section 1 of Net, but the kawn had only a small wey title, á:ren Mwar, in addition to his section title, Lépen Pá:rem, which is always the title of the kawn. The reason for this was that that section belonged to clan 9, and none of the three wey chiefs living there were members of this clan, while the Lépen Pá:rem was the senior member thereof residing there. Of all these chiefs only he had the right to banish a man from the section. Nevertheless, in such cases the kawn often defers to the opinions of the wey chiefs and frequently consults them.

Most informants use the terms kawn and sówmas interchangeably to designate the Xl of a section. A Net informant says that the highest wey title residing in the section is the sówmas, while the highest section title, the Xl, is the kawn. On the other hand a Kiti man says exactly the opposite. A Sokas man states that kawn is the proper term for the Xl, but when he is on a visit elsewhere or is ill and designates someone to take his place temporarily the substitute is called sówmas.

Some of the section heads were virtually independent of the wey. In some cases this state of affairs resulted from the personal qualities of a particular kawn and persisted only as long as he held office; for example, when Paulino, later Nanken of Net, was the kawn of section 2 of Net he had a free hand to receive offerings like a Nanmarki or a Nanken; his status was like that of an independent baron in feudal times in Europe. In other cases there was a traditional semi-

autonomy; this was true of Awak in U and of Palikir in Sokas. Some of the kawn titles are considered to be very high, even when held by commoners; the kawn of section 15 of Kiti, for example, belongs to a non-royal clan but nevertheless is said to take precedence over chief A3 in such matters as food distribution at feasts.

Functions of the Kawn

The kawn must keep an eye on the productive abilities of the various farmsteads in his section. He attends all the waj wanum feasts (q.v.) since he must know how the crops are progressing; he counts all the food articles brought and may tell the people of any farmstead that they will have to do better. One farmstead might be occupied by a family of only five people, another by thirty, yet the first will try to do as well as the second; so the kawn may attempt to arrange with the more populated farmsteads to offer more at feasts to the high chiefs, in order to help the small ones. If there is a man with a wey title living in the section the kawn comes to him and reports on the difficulties of the small farmsteads.

The kawn was charged with the keeping of those properties (kopwe en wey) not retained by the Nanmarki. Formerly each section made a wey canoe (wa:r en wey) and delivered simultaneously with the others by a certain time to the Nanmarki; this was the fourth month of the year (pus en apox), judging from the name of the ceremony conducted then. Such canoes as were not retained by the Nanmarki were returned to the custody of the individual sections but were called upon when needed for the wey, as on the occasion of a visit in force to another wey. If a section did not have its canoe ready by the designated time it

it had to be destroyed and the people of the section did not attend the ceremony; a kawn might be demoted for such a reason.

Other objects made for the wey but retained in the section included pit-breadfruit, sennit, sleeping mats, spears, and various other valuables. Nowadays only large yams and kava are placed in the category of wey property. They are actually grown on the individual man's land, but the concept persists that they belong to the Nanmarki, even though the land no longer belongs to him but has been issued under private deeds, and they are called for on the occasion of a visit by another Nanmarki. The kawn would also be called upon to deliver balls of sennit and mats kept for the Nanmarki especially for such visits to be distributed as gifts; the Nanmarki who received the gifts would redistribute them to his own section heads to keep for him, and they would be returned, perhaps with more, on a return visit.

Usually as many spears were kept as there were men in the section, and they were given out before a battle. The Nanken and other chiefs would count the spears and hence would know who had fled the field; this was a great shame and a coward might be put to death. The spears were kept in the house of the kawn and in the houses of any wey chiefs who resided there.

The special crimped chiefs' skirts and the woven banana-fiber belts were made by the section women for the wey; the Nanmarki would keep some for himself and retain others for gifts. Pit-breadfruit might be wey or section property; each section made a pit near the house of the kawn and the contents were used on the occasion of a visit by the Nanmarki to the section or at a section festival; and from the breadfruit brought to

the Nanmarki as offerings on various occasions a similar pit was made for him. The people of each section made communally the three types of seines used and deposited them at the home of the kawn; the same was done with the communally built section canoe. Anyone might use these articles as he needed them. Today there are no section nets, but some section canoes continue. The change is due to the encroachment of money economy on the native subsistence patterns; people prefer now to sell their catch, hence they use their own fishing apparatus, while formerly they used section property and divided the catch with the kawn.

Just as the section heads were tenants (kówa) to the wey chiefs who owned the sections, the commoners were tenants of the kawn. Whether farmsteads reverted to the kawn on their owners' death is not clear; many statements are to the effect that they reverted directly to the Nanmarki; possibly the reversion to the kawn occurred only if he was a member of the same clan as the Nanmarki (or Nanken, if it was the Nanken who owned the section). In any case matrilineal rules of inheritance were usually followed, with only occasional interference by the kawn; even if a family died out the land was not redistributed to other residents of the section but relatives were brought in from elsewhere to occupy it. If a stranger came from elsewhere to take up residence the kawn would consult with lesser titleholders in the section and they would decide upon a piece of land to give the man in tenancy. There was usually plenty of vacant land for this purpose; each farmstead's boundaries were accurately known, as they are today, and each had its own name. The stranger would then get a title from the kawn and would offer first fruits to him.

Some sections are known as kap, places in the forest where everything grows well and where breadfruit remain ripe longer than elsewhere. Such a section always belongs to the same clan, though other sections change clan affiliation from time to time. Sanipan and Kapin, former sections of Sokas, are reckoned as kap; in Kiti sections 9, 21, and 35 are so classed; in Net, section 19; in U, the hinterland of Awak; in Matolenim, most of the area called Sapalap. All of these belong to clan 7, except Awak, which is under clan 2.

Capitol Sections

Included in the lists of sections are some which are designated as nanwey; properly these are not sections at all and do not have hereditary kawn, for they are the seats of residence of the Nanmarkis. There was no such permanent place of residence for the Nanken, who might live anywhere. The nanwey might justifiably be referred to as the capitol of the wey. In Kiti the Nanmarki always lived in Sáptaka:y; the term nanwey here is sometimes used to include also sections 24 to 34, which constitute most of Kiti proper. In Wóns, before its union with Kiti proper, the seat of the Nanmarki was ele:niyoŋ, a farmstead in section 7. The nanwey of Sokas was section 16, though some later rulers lived in section 20 as well as in a number of other places. In Net it was section 5. In U six farmsteads, all in section 7, comprised the nanwey; these were nánpey, lúkopas péyey, lúkopas péyloŋ, nánteke, tipwankapáy, and ponwéynpwel; the first five of these are now privately owned, but the sixth is the site of the present government buildings in U,

although the Nanmarki no longer lives there. In Matolenim, however, a portion of the ancient nanwey in section 23 is still the residence of the Nanmarki. Most Nanmarkis of Matolenim originate in sections 4 or 8, where the land of their sub-clan was inherited matrilineally and where they still live until they reach the title of A2, but when they become A1 they until today move to section 23.

The Nanmarki and Nanken are said to ride or sit astride (taketake) the sections where they live. Nowadays they hold land under deeds, like other people; formerly they might have farmsteads of their own before they took office, but upon accession to the titles of A1 or B1 they would give their land to near relatives in tenancy, since the first-fruits they received would be enough to support them.

Inheritance of the nanwey does not seem clear. Most informants say that it always went from one Nanmarki to the next. Some assert that it proceeded from father to son, but it is difficult to see how the Nanmarki could have continued to live on it generation after generation if it passed into another line, as it would with patrilineal inheritance. Possibly a part of it was inherited by sons; but it is certain that the actual dwelling site of the Nanmarki itself, the pos, went always to the next Nanmarki.

PROMOTION AND SUCCESSION

In theory when a title becomes vacant all men of lower title move up one place. The actual state of affairs is, however, somewhat different. For all wey titles except their own the Nanmarki and Nanken make the decision on who will succeed when vacancies arise. If the office of Nanmarki itself becomes vacant the first two or three title-holders in the B-line and sometimes also A2 meet and choose a successor; similarly if the title of Nanken is to be disposed of, A1, A2, and perhaps A3 and B3 decide on the new occupant of the office. In most cases the Nanken is the decisive figure. The proper succession to titles A1 and B1 is supposedly a matter of common knowledge, since it proceeds always by seniority within the ruling sub-clans. The successor to a Nanmarki should be the next senior man in his sub-clan if he is eligible; and this man should previously have held the next title below, A2.

The senior man in the sub-clan of Joseph, the present Nanken of Net, is not Joseph but the present Lépen Net, whose title is a lower one. The seniority of the Lépen Net in the sub-clan comes from his mother, since clan membership is matrilineal; but his eligibility for the office of B1 depends not only on clan seniority but also upon his royal blood through paternal descent, and in his case his father was not a member of clan 7, the A-clan in Net, as Joseph's father was. Therefore, though the Lépen Net is considered as chief of the sub-clan

(mʃstʰn ɲi:ʰn ka:ynak) Joseph outranks him in the title series.

Johannes, the present B4 of Net, also belongs to the same sub-clan as Joseph, and in his case his father is of the proper clan. He is senior in the sub-clan, for his mother's mother was the elder sister of Joseph's mother; Johannes is wawalap, Joseph is ulaptik, in the kinship system. However, Johannes was too young at the time of the occurrence of the last vacancy for the title of B1 to be considered eligible. The present B1 was already B5 when Johannes got his first wey title, B12, at the age of twenty. Supposedly he is next in line for B1.

Although it is generally clear who is most eligible for the two highest offices, occasionally a promotion comes as a surprise to the populace and to the new titleholder himself. In one case the A10 of Sokas was made Nanmarki in a single jump; he had thought he was going to become A2. The reason in this case has been forgotten, but usually when promotions come unexpectedly it is because the person actually entitled to the vacancy is considered too young, as in the case of the B4 of Net. When Paul, a Nanmarki of Kiti, was about twelve years old he was A2. The old Nanmarki died and Paul was scheduled to take the vacant place. A boy may succeed to a title at any age, but Paul's mother refused to allow it, considering that he was too young and would therefore be too vulnerable to sorcery directed against him by jealous persons; instead she advised the Nanken to appoint another man, the father of the present Nanken. This man belonged to

the proper sub-clan but was well down the seniority list, being only A14, and never expected to become Nanmarki. In the community house (nas) where the promotion ceremonies are held the Nanken raised the traditional bowl of kava and called the A14 to come up to the main platform from the central area where he was sitting. The latter was greatly surprised and demurred on the ground that he was unworthy. The Nanken grew angry, came and seized him by the hair of his head, and dragged him up to the main platform, where he presented him with the bowl of kava, put the royal wreath on his head, and proclaimed him Nanmarki. Paul remained A2 but received first fruits from Kiti proper; the new Nanmarki got first fruits only from Wíne. This was the second time that Paul had passed up the title, the first opportunity coming when he was only a baby. He was past thirty when the third opportunity came and was accepted.

There are additional factors to be considered in choosing a new title-holder, some of them due to foreign influence. The current A2 of Matolenim is debarred from becoming Nanmarki because he is blind. Hambruch mentions also ringworm as sufficient cause to prevent accession to the highest offices, but modern informants deny this. In U the A5 is sister's son to the present Nanmarki, hence next in line if strict seniority were considered. His clansmate, the A2, is senior to him in title but junior in blood, being mother's

younger sister's daughter's son to the Nanmarki. The A5 should therefore go ahead of the A2 in the succession to the title of Nanmarki. But the people believe that the A2 knows more about modern government practices and the A5 may defer to him on this account. Foreign influence has exerted a more direct effect on succession sometimes; the present B1 of U passed by his mother's brother, the former B2, because the local Japanese policeman considered the latter too old. In Kiti the B4 should succeed to Nanken; the B2 is always a member of clan 9 and never eligible for B1 in this way, and the B3 title is held at present by a commoner. But the B7 belongs to the proper sub-clan, is the Secretary under the civil administration, and is familiar with office procedure, and many people think he will succeed. In Matolenim there are several possible contenders to the position of Nanken. The present B2 belongs to one of the proper clans (clan 2) but not to the proper sub-clan (sow'n lē:taw). The man considered best versed in office work is the A14, who is "acting Nanken" under the administration; though he holds an A-title he belongs properly in the B-line, being a member of the other B-clan (clan 9). He is son of the daughter of the Nanken's sister, hence eligible. However, the Nanmarki will probably choose as next Nanken his own son, who is a member of clan 18; the Nanmarki has not followed the traditional pattern of marrying only a member of the opposite line but married a commoner woman. If the son becomes Nanken he will be the first holder of that title who was in neither clan 2 nor clan 9.

In U the situation is more complex. Here the Nanmarki traditionally puts his own son up as next in line for Nanken, whatever his clan may be. Informants everywhere in Ponape say that the incumbent Nanken is actually demoted when a new Nanmarki of U steps in, being replaced by the latter's son. Study of past successions does not bear this out; it may be that the reference is to an ancient practice which is no longer followed; but it is true that the son of any past or present Nanmarki is raised high in the B-line. The last three Nankens have successively been members of clans 9, 8, and 5. The present Nanken obtained his office, according to informants, by currying favor with the Japanese and by false accusations against the previous Nanken; he is a member of clan 5, which never held the office before, and he is not the son of a Nanmarki. His younger brother should follow him if the principle of seniority were followed, since he is next in line in the clan; but informants say that the B2 will probably succeed, since his father was a Nanmarki, and the Nanken's brother holds only a small title of U.

Succession to the title of Nanmarki or Nanken by a member of an improper clan is not a new phenomenon, even though it causes grave head-shaking by the old men. A number of instances are recorded from pre-Spanish times. The A-line of Net has traditionally belonged to clan 7 for many generations, but the eighth A1 before the present one designated his own son, of clan 6, to succeed him.* The B-line of Sokas has always been in the hands of clan 6, but includes pre-Spanish Nankens who

*The fifth A1 before the present one ruled about 1875, which should place the eighth well into pre-Spanish or even pre-contact times.

belonged to clans 5 and 13 and who gained office because their father was a particularly powerful Nanmarki.

A man with a proper mother but a commoner father might similarly become Nanmarki or Nanken, although he had to wait for eligibles with proper fathers to go ahead of him. But martial exploits might advance him out of turn. Thus during the wars with the Spanish the Nanken Alexander of Matolenim fled to Kiti to take refuge. Nicholas, a man of an eligible sub-clan but of low station because of a father belonging to clan 8, fought bravely to protect the Nanmarki, Paul, and was rewarded with the vacant title of Nanken. When Alexander returned he was made B2 and had to wait for Nicholas to die before he could become B1 again.

There are a number of instances of accession to office by violent means and of overthrow of a whole line of titles by another line. In the semi-historical legend of the conquest of Ponape by invaders from Kusai (the Marshalls in other accounts) the Sawtelewr line of kings was replaced by the Nanmarki line; but this was essentially the overthrow of the then ruling clan, clan 6, in Matolenim by clan 13. In U one sub-clan of clan 2, the sow'n péynkon, formerly furnished the chiefs of the A-line. One day all the men of this line went fishing and during their absence another sub-clan of the same clan, the sow'n pás:to, held a war-feast and laid their strategy. When fishermen return from fishing they carry their catch to the community house (nas) to be distributed and receive in exchange land-produce from the people who have assembled to await their coming. When the sow'n péynkon arrived at the nas they found that the sow'n pás:to had taken all the places

of honor on the main platform and had crowned themselves with royal wreaths. The sow'n péynkon were few in number and retired without a fight, giving up all their titles to their kinsmen, who still constitute the A-line of U.*

A similar incident in Matolenim involved two sub-clans of clan 13 in an internecine war over which should be the ruling line. Another coup d'etat occurred in Kiti; here the now extinct i:nanwé:yés sub-clan of clan 4 displaced the li:sánpálap sub-clan as the A-line in a bloodless war which found the latter sub-clan fleeing at the sound of the triton horns of the approaching enemy.

Skippping of Places

In spite of native theory, neither today nor in former times does it seem to have been the practice to progress methodically up the ladder of titles. For industry and obedience to the Nanmarki and Nanken might produce differential rates of promotion, a sluggard being passed over and a more active man moved ahead of him. Secondly, clan seniority always counted; a boy might skip several places simply because he was the last of his sub-clan, therefore outranked men of lower sub-clans who had achieved higher titles heretofore because they were older. Titles from A1 to A8 and from B1 to B8 can be inherited by a sister's son regardless of how many places are jumped in such a promotion.

Sometimes a title which has been awarded to a member

*Another version of this affair omits the rishing incident; the sow'n pásito considered the sow'n péynkon too weak to look after state affairs properly, hence seized power.

of a non-royal or non-noble clan remains in that clan through force of tradition. Thus the B2 of Kiti is always a member of Clan 9 instead of Clan 11 as the other B-titles are because of certain historical reasons; he is succeeded always by a member of his clan. The present B2 of Net belongs to Clan 2 instead of to Clans 6 or 9 because of his personal qualities, and the Nanken says that he will probably appoint the B2's sister's son (who, of course, is also in Clan 2) as his successor. Another case is that of the title of A7 of Kiti, which, until its present incumbent received it, had been held for a number of generations by members of Clan 11 (B-line); the reason was that a man of the noble clan, named Má:sor, had killed an interloper from Páloq who had taken the title when that section temporarily conquered Kiti proper and deposed the royal clan. There is today some resentment against the Nanken for having returned the title to the A-line. A clan which is in this position comes to think it has a right to the title, especially if the first member to achieve it did so through warlike deeds, and strenuously objects if the title is given to a member of another clan.

Jumping of Places

Analysis of individual careers shows that progress in the hierarchy of titles is far more often a series of skips than a step-by-step rise. Francisco, a former A2 of Sokas, became A2 in one jump from A5; (in Sokas the A2 was the ruler, there being no Nanmarki until Spanish times); this was for the reason that the A4 belonged to a non-royal clan and the A3, though of the proper clan (Clan 7), was junior by blood to Francisco.

For similar reasons a Nanken of Sokas, á:w'n̄tols'ririn* by name, jumped from B7 to B1. The present Nanmarki of Kiti first held the Anipeynpa section title of ná:lik en ánipeyn (X4 of that section), then sáw'n ánipeyn (X2), then successively the wey titles of A9, A3, and A1. The present Nanken of Kiti became B12 as a small child, then became B4, and finally B1.

In succession to the Nanmarki and Nanken titles (and the A2 title in Sokas) the order of preference is first the brothers of the previous holder of the title in order of birth; second, the oldest sister's sons in order of birth; third, sons of younger sisters in order of the sister's births; fourth, male parallel cousins of the same sub-clan in order of their mothers' births. The succession thus follows clan seniority. In each case the fathers must be of the proper sub-clan, the sub-clan which furnishes the title-holders of the opposite line. Only after men with proper fathers are exhausted does a member of the sub-clan with a father of lesser descent come into consideration. When the sub-clan is exhausted the next senior sub-clan of the same clan inherits.

If the logical successor lives in another wey he may be called back to accept the vacancy. During the last years of Pwas, a Nanken of Sokas, his sister's son, Sowkop, who lived in Net and previously had had no Sokas title, came to Sokas to wait for Pwas to die so that he might take his place. Sowkop was given the title of B9. But when Pwas died the Nanmarki insisted on

*This is properly a title, but, as is common in Ponape, is used as a given name. Sometimes a man will be referred to by a title he once held in lieu of using his actual but secret name. A title is frequently given as a name when a child acquires the title at birth; for example, the present B8 of Matolenim, a boy, has both name and title of á:wririn.

another man, sáwlik en sóletí,* taking his turn first. Sowkop then accepted the title of A4 and became B1 only after sáwlik en sóletí had died.

Sowkop's career illustrates a number of points. In lieu of a brother Pwas' sister's son was his logical successor, since he outranked sáwlik en sóletí in clan seniority. But the latter was an older man, he was a Nanmarki's son, and he had married a Nanken's daughter. These factors outweighed mere seniority in the opinion of the current Nanmarki, and Sowkop was willing therefore to defer his promotion. Such factors are still more important when the choice lies between members of more than one sub-clan, or more than one clan, all of which are eligible to provide a successor.

Deference to a junior is not infrequent. Where a number of brothers are living the younger ones may sometimes allow their sisters' children to go ahead of them; or when two sisters have sons some of those of the elder may step aside to give their cousins a chance to advance. In a hypothetical case, expounded by a Kiti native, if the senior sister had three sons the first would be A1, the second A3, the third perhaps A7, leaving the intervals to be filled by sons of the second or third sisters; but in the promotion to A1, A3 would normally succeed his brother.

The temporary acceptance of an A-line title by Sowkop also reveals how freely ultimate candidates for the Nanmarki or Nanken migrate from one line to the other during their early careers. Such lack of restriction to one line is ordinarily

*This again is a title used as a name.

characteristic only of sons of a Nanmarki or Nanken.

Factors involved in promotion include also judicious choice of a wife. The present A2 of Kiti owes his present position to the fact that he married the sister of the Nanken; he belongs to the A-clan, (clan 4) and in fact to the senior sub-clan (li:esenpálap) thereof, the one which formerly ruled Kiti; but this sub-clan was deposed long ago and has sunk to commoner rank. The present A3 of Kiti belongs to still another sub-clan (sow'nkíti) of Clan 4 and advanced this high only because he married the daughter of the Nanken's sister. It is A4, son of the A1's sister, who will succeed the A1.

Promotion through martial exploits and through service for and tribute to the chiefs are discussed elsewhere.

Promotion Ceremonial

The duty of making promotions belongs to the Nanken, who, however, is supposed to consult with the Nanmarki. The Nanken also does the actual conferring of a title (ta mwar or púke mwar, to raise up to a title). First he makes a short speech recounting the good qualities of the man about to be promoted, then he holds up a cup of kava (makes sápsakau) and says loudly, "met (this) qáreqar (coconut shell vessel) en (of, with) ----- (the title being awarded). The title is conceived to be in the vessel. Then the man being promoted comes up to the main platform of the nas, where the Nanken is standing; if he is a member of the A-line he will have been in the central ground-level area of the nas, as most members of this line should be. With him comes the senior member of his line, next to the Nanmarki or Nanken; this will ordinarily be the A2 or B2, but if these are not present the next in seniority takes his place, or it may be the man's mother's eldest brother. The function of this person is to make a lápweyapwey;* that is, he takes the vessel of kava from the Nanken, turns toward the assembled people so that the Nanmarki and Nanken are behind him, says "this is our drink" and takes a draught; then the newly-promoted man and his sponsor return to their proper places. Occasionally the

*There apparently was once some religious ceremonial connected with this performance, since the term lápweyapwey is also applied to a prayer made to a spirit by a soothsayer.

candidate for the title himself drinks, and rarely the Nanmarki functions instead of the Nanken.

At the coronation of a Nanmarki the Nanken places a wreath of Ixora carolinensis (an el en kátiyew) on the new ruler's head. This royal wreath is also called ni:n or ninin. (A wreath worn by a commoner is called mwáre.) Similarly the Nanmarki crowns the Nanken when the latter assumes office. The A2 is supposed to crown the B2 and vice versa; but their crown is el en seyr, made of the blossoms of the tree of this name (Fagraea sair; called pu:r in Kiti). The crowning is followed by the drinking of the vessel of kava. Men promoted to titles lower than A2 and B2 are not supposed to be crowned, but only drink the kava. Other people than the two highest chiefs are not supposed to wear wreaths of kátiyew unless they are mixed with other flowers.*

The Nanmarki of Matolenim was formerly crowned in secret at a place called Péypwel, in Section 25 or 26 of Matolenim. This was a stone structure where the Nanken and seven other men of title awaited the Nanmarki-to-be, who was led thither by the Ná:ntu in a torchlight procession. After the wreath of flowers was placed on the Nanmarki's head the Nanken took a stone upon which two sétey** had been laid and shoved it

*Hambruch (p.13) speaks of the Nanmarki giving his crown to someone else as a method of conferring honor upon him, but informants had never heard of this practice.

**Coconut leaflets whose ends are twisted together, used for various ritual purposes.

toward the Nanmarki's face, as though he were about to strike him. If the Nanmarki blinked he would soon die. Then all went to a place where a certain stone, Krów'nayp, stands; the people were all assembled and prepared a feast in the nas there, and when the new Nanmarki took his place on the main platform they saw for the first time who the choice had been.

Nowadays, though some of the foregoing is occasionally seen, the ritual frequently consists only of handing the recipient of the new title a bowl of kava or a piece of sugar cane. On one occasion which the writer witnessed the Nanmarki of Kiti delegated a man for the occasion to stand at a funeral feast, announce the successor to the dead man's title, and counsel everyone to respect him as such; the new appointee, though present, made no acknowledgement.

All titles except those of Nanmarki and Nanken must be confirmed by a title-payment feast (irar mwar or kápas mwar), which is held in the nas and given to the Nanmarki. At present values this is estimated by natives to cost for nearly all titles something like \$200 in pigs, yams, kava, etc. Not all the cost is born by the man who is being promoted, since his family contributes a large part of it.

Vacancies in section titles are filled by the kawn of the section, but the kawn himself, though chosen by the people of the section, must be confirmed in office by the Nanmarki or Nanken, depending on which is overlord of the section. Succession is not automatic; the Nanmarki or Nanken usually agrees with the wishes of the people, but sometimes he may consider that the candidate is unsuitable and reject him,

when a second choice is necessary. He might then choose another member of the same sub-clan, or the dead man's son, or someone else. The title-payment feast is then made by the chosen man to the Nanmarki or Nanken. After the feast is made the title cannot be taken away without cause, but if the promotion is not confirmed by a feast the title is revoked.

Lower section title-holders make their title-payment feast to the kawn, who alone makes the appointments, and the wey chiefs do not attend. Similarly the kawn performs the office of installation for the head of a farmstead; this continues until today, even though the actual inheritance is according to the terms of the German deeds and the confirmation by the kawn has therefore become purely formal.

On the same day that a kawn dies the Nanmarki or Nanken is supposed to come and bury him and award the land and title to his successor. The section, which is held in fief, theoretically reverts to the Nanmarki upon the death of the kawn, and is reissued to the successor. In former days all work would cease until the new chief was selected, hence the haste with which this was done. The same state of anarchy prevailed upon the death of a Nanmarki, hence the secret was kept until his successor was installed, for fear of general lawlessness and war. The chief of any area is still expected to attend the burial of his tenants; on one occasion the writer was forced to postpone a trip with the A6 of Kiti because one of his tenants had died and his people would have become "discouraged" had he not gone to the funeral and funeral feast.

Elsewhere than Net each man who is being promoted makes a separate feast, and there are no standards as to his possible lavishness. In Net the present Nanmarki and Nanken, with their customary acumen, have systematized promotion feasts by having them all held in December and January of each year, so that a number of titles are simultaneously paid for; and each man is required to pay with a pig, a large kava plant, and one or two two-man yams. The same pair of chiefs has similarly consolidated the honor-feasts given by the various sections into a single feast.

NATIVES OF PONAPE



Plate

OTHER TITLES

Priestly Titles

Although Hambruch states that the priests (*samwaraw*) were seri:so, this seems to have been true only of the higher ones. The principal priest was the *Ná:llaym*, who today is the B2 chief. In Matolenim he could be of either Clan 2 or Clan 9 membership. These are the two clans which form the seri:so in Matolenim. As is the case today, he could not be of the same clan as the Nanken, but had to be of the other member of this pair of clans. But the second highest priest, the *Ná:napas* (B4 chief today) had to be of the same clan as the Nanken. The third priest, *Sáwlik en Matolenim*, could likewise belong to either of the two clans, but the lesser priests might belong to any clan; in Matolenim they were *Aren Maka*, *Serinay en Ratele*, *Seyor en Wiluk*, *Ninakap en Tamon*, *Si:pwil Likin*, *Krown en Malok*, *Lepen Sowloq*, *Sowsset en Roti*.

The history of these priestly titles is not clear. Today most of them are merged into the B-line of titles, but whether they were always so is in doubt. Some informants say that they formed a separate line, though also known as seri:so; they give a B-line which runs B1, B3, B7, etc., the gaps representing the priestly titles which were fitted into the scheme by Paul, Nanmarki of Matolenim in Spanish times. According to these informants the other wey then copied Paul's scheme. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the *Ná:llaym* succeeded the Nanken in office, so whether there was one line or two lines of seri:so they functioned much as ^{the} seri:so line does today.

A number of titles apparently antedate the Nanmarki-Nanken double series. Most of these do not bear the prefix "nan," in contrast with the majority of later titles. The native explanation

most commonly encountered is that the Nanmarki-Nanken series only began with the conquest of the island by Isokalakal, a semi-historical figure; before that Ponape was unified under a single, tyrannical ruler whose title was Sawtelewr. If there was a ranked order of titles under the Sawtelewr it is no longer recalled, but many of the titles of that era persist outside the present ranked series and are accorded high honors. Such chiefs as Lepen Morr, Lepen Telewr, Lepen Pálikir, Sawlik en Awak, and Ná:nmaṭa:w en Páloṭ, for example, receive the fourth share of food at a feast, after the A2 but before the B2. Some of them nowadays are only section chiefs, such as Lepen Pálikir and Sawlik en Awak, but it is apparent that their influence was once much greater; Pálikir, for example, was always a semi-autonomous area, only nominally under the wey of Sokas, and its ruler, the Lepen Pálikir, frequently acted independently. The Sawlik en Awak was likewise largely independent of the rest of U, once joining with ~~the~~ ^{his} Catholic co-religionists ⁱⁿ Net and Sokas against the Protestant area of the remainder of U, Matolenim, and Kiti in a war. This event was in Spanish times, but is indicative of a pre-Spanish cleavage. The Ná:nmaṭa:w en Páloṭ, now only a kawn, formerly had under him two sections besides his own and at one time overthrew the Nanmarki and became ruler over Kiti for a period until Wóna reconquered Kiti.

Some of these earlier titles seem to have combined many priestly offices with their chiefly duties; at any rate some of them until relatively recently were priests with temporal powers as well. Such was the Sa:wm en Loṭ, a high priestly title in Kiti, who ruled Section 21. The ruler of Wóna was Sá:wkisa, who was similarly a priest-king. Such priests were quite apart from the priests such as the B2 and B4, who were in the later "naṭ" series and

apparently had no temporal functions until quite recently.

Titles of Address

The holders of most of the older titles, i.e., the ones antedating the "nan" series (~~q-v~~), have a special title of address, pawt or páwto. These include Lépen Net, Lépen Pálikir, Lépen Animwan, Lépen Morr, Sa:wm en Loq, Krown en Lé:ław, Sawlik en Awak, Lépen ánimwan, Lepen Wónik, Ná:nma:ta:w en Palon, Krown Ma:yr, Lepen Telewr en Kiti, Kélak en Takayew. Gulick (p. 39) gives this term as another title of the Nanken, but it is not so used today. It has the same root as the term for spouse, pawt, referring to the bond between ruler and people.

The Nanmarkis have additional titles also; the Matolenim Nanmarki has the title í:sipaw as a form of address, and the additional title of Sáwmaka en Ololap. The Nanmarki of Kiti has R/o:sa, Sáwkisa, and Sáwmaka en Loq as additional titles; Ró:sa has been awarded to the present A6, Sáwmaka en Loq to the former A12, but they are properly the Nanmarki's; Sáwkisa was the ruler of Wóns who conquered Kiti and installed himself as Nanmarki thereof. In U the Nanmarki bears the additional title of address of Sáñiro, which is also the name of a god. In Net the present Nanmarki (who has replaced the former ruler Lepen Net) has three additional titles. The ruler of Sokas was for a long period the Wása:y, who is chief A2 elsewhere, and his title of address was Ná:nputak, which is that of every Wása:y. The story goes that Sokas once had a Nanmarki, like every other wey, but a series of misfortunes to these rulers occurred and finally the Wása:y refused to accept the final promotion due him but ruled in the name of the penultimate title. He also seems to have been addressed as

iso:wáni, but a particular ruler of Sokas who lived about 1870 is usually meant when the term is used. All Nanmarkis are likewise known as Wása:y lápalap and as Mónsapakan (referring to the first fruits they receive.)

None of these terms are exact equivalents. In Matolenim Wása:y lápalap is preferable to í:sipaw as a form of address to the Nanmarki. In U Sápiro is preferred. iso:wáni was used in place of Ná:nputak during a period of mourning for the deceased ruler of Sokas. In direct address to a Nanmarki Wása:y lápalap is used to attract his attention, Mónsapakan during speech with him. Sáwkisa is used in referring to the Kiti Nanmarki during food distribution at a feast, but in the part of Kiti known as Wó:ne, where the Sáwkisa title originates, it is used on other occasions too. In referring to the Kiti Nanmarki's belongings, as when observing his canoes passing by or in asking where his house is, or in reference to his wife, the proper term is Áó:sa; this term is also used in address when his B-line relatives are present.

Corresponding to the title of Ná:nputak for A2, address forms for A3, Ná:niaw, and A4, Ná:no, are used. In Net A5 and A6 according to one informant, A5 -A10 according to another, have the honorific form of address í:sow; Matolenim informants extend the term to A5-A14. All in Net and Sówmataw, which is a low A-title in Net, according to different informants, are addressed as Sa:w. B1-B4 in most wey are called í:sow, but one Net informant gives B3 as Sa:w and B5 as Lu:k. There are apparently no such special forms of address for women.

The address titles are supposed to be used out of politeness, since the proper titles are theoretically reserved for reference only. But whatever may have been the practise

in the past, nowadays the two sets of titles are used interchangeably in direct address.

Though the Nanmarki everywhere is considered kónoŋ (see below) in food distribution some informants say this is only because of the additional, older titles which they possess; thus the Nanmarki title in Kiti is said to be sak in itself, but its occupant is kónoŋ because of the additional titles of Sáwkisa and Ró:sa which he holds; and since the present chief Aó of Kiti has been given the title Ró:sa he too is considered to be kónoŋ and is third in food distribution at feasts, following A1 and B1. Similarly in Matolenim the Nanmarki is kónoŋ only because of his older title of i:sipaw, and in U because of his title of Sáŋiro.

Female Titles

Each title in the male series has a female counterpart which the wife of a title-holder automatically assumes. When her husband is promoted to a new title she takes the female version thereof, though without the ceremony or promotion feast incumbent upon him. In the days of polygyny a man held a title for each wife he took and each wife had the female counterpart of it; it is indeed a question whether new titles were taken for new wives or whether a man took as many wives as he already held titles for.

The female series in Net is as follows:

A-line

1. Ná:nalek
2. Ná:nep
3. Ná:nte
4. Ná:natow
5. Ná:layow
6. Ná:npwo:ypey
7. Ná:likrow
8. Ná:likiyey
9. Ná:nitpey
10. Pwó:ypey
11. Ká:tintel
12. Ná:ntupey
13. Liká:ntlap
14. Ká:tinkap
15. Ná:nka:r

B-line

1. Ná:nkeniyey
2. Ná:nkula:y
3. Ná:lisa:w
4. Ná:napasipe:y
5. Ná:nkatin itët
6. àminá:law
7. Lómpeyn ririn
8. Liá:wririn
9. Ká:nip
10. Ká:tipwan
11. Liá:w'npey
12. Liá:w'nɲol
13. Liá:w
14. Kétpwan
15. Ná:nkupey

Titles elsewhere vary slightly, apart from dialect differences. E.g., A10 becomes pwó:ypey lápalap in Kiti, B11 becomes liá:w'nponpey, B9 is ká:nipeyn ririn, etc.

In addition to the title a woman receives from her marriage there are a number of titles outside of the series and reserved for daughters and sisters of a Nanmarki or Nanken.

These are ná:nkakas and i:tiqél in Kiti and U, i:so:alap and i:tiqél in Matolenim. The previous Nanmarki of Matolenim, Alexander, was brother to an i:so:alap and son of an itiqél; the former is now mother of the present Nanmarki, and her daughter is i:tiqél; another daughter will take the i:so:alap title when she dies. In Matolenim^{the} rule as stated by informants is that only sisters, not daughters, of a Nanmarki can have a title, and that a sister or daughter of a Nanken can have one only after marriage. But in U it is said that only one daughter of the Nanmarki and no sister may have one of these titles, and only the eldest daughter or eldest sister of the Nanken may have the other. Actually the ná:nkakas^{of U} today is the eldest daughter of the Nanken, but the i:tiqél title belongs to the daughter of the B2, himself a son of a former Nanmarki. The previous Nanmarki issued the ná:nkakas title to his adopted daughter.

These titles belong to women regardless of their marriage. But in addition a number of women have male titles in either series. This is said to be irregular and is looked upon with disfavor, but it does not seem to be very recent in origin. Daughters of Nanmarki's and Nanken's acquire such titles in infancy. In Matolenim these titles may be, among others, B9, B10, and a:w. The present A5 of Kiti is daughter to the present B1. If the female holder of such a title marries a man of lower title he takes her title and she takes the female counterpart thereof; if she should die he would revert to his former title, unless it is occupied, when he receives another of about the same level. If she marries a man of higher title she gives up her old title and takes the female counterpart of his; then if he dies the next man in line gets his title and she goes back to

her old title.

In the case where the husband takes his wife's title, or in the similar case where she has not held any title but he is awarded a high title upon marriage, he is said to hold the title "for" her. Thus the present A13 of Net belongs to neither of the clans which form the A or B lines but is a member of Clan 12 and his proper title is a section one; but he is married to the daughter of a former Nanmarki, and he holds his title because of her. If she died he would lose his title.* The wife herself did not hold the office before her marriage. The sister of the Nanken of U is married to the B5, *who* is a member of clan 15 (a commoner clan); in this case she held the title before she married him. (This title, B5, occupies a peculiar position in U, in that it is said to revert to the Nanmarki and Nanken when its holder dies, to be re-issued as they please, whereas other titles are supposed to go in order of seniority.) The present B8 of U is the unmarried daughter of the Nanmarki; when she grows up she must have a higher title, informants say, because of her father's rank. A previous Nanmarki's daughter's husband was first B11 of U, later A8; he got the first title from his wife, upon marriage to her; the second he earned, but by native theory it was she who really got the promotion, giving it then to her husband.

*U informants deny that such loss of title is regular.

Such a man who elevates himself by marriage to a high ranking woman is called a "big bones" (ti:lap) because he must work harder than other men, make a better showing at feasts, and formerly had to be in the forefront in battle.

There are sometimes other influences involved in achievement of titles by women. The Bl0 of Net today is a woman and is said to have been given the title because her former paramour, the Bl, wanted her to be in a position to share in the distribution of food at feasts.

Honorific Forms

A large vocabulary of honorific forms serves to emphasize the difference in rank between the various classes on Ponape. Most of them are used to distinguish between commoners on the one hand and the royalty and nobility on the other, or between the two classes of chiefs, or between the higher and lower chiefs in both lines. The subject of honorifics requires a linguistic treatment for which this is not the place. However a number of terms are used in connection with ceremony at feasts and deserve some description here.

Food and all appurtenances connected with food, when referring to the Nanmarki, are spoken of as kónot; when referring to the Nanken they are sak. These terms are applied to the persons themselves as well as to the articles; that is to say, the Nanmarki himself is said to be kónot, the Nanken sak. Everything else belonging to both Nanmarki and Nanken--clothes, houses, etc.--are sápwilim. When the Nanmarki is present at a feast the food of all other persons is túnol or kápan kónot, except that of the Nanken, who remains sak. If the Nanmarki is absent the A2 takes his place and is sak. Should the A3 be the senior chief of his line present he is kónot; if it is the A4 he is sak. In each of these cases lower chiefs in both lines are túnol and the Nanken is sak. But A5 or lower titles in the A-line remain túnol regardless of whether they are the senior A-line chiefs present, for they are not supposed to sit on the main platform of the nas facing forward. On the B side, if the Nanken is absent the B2 takes his place and is sak and lower titles in both lines are

túol; but if the B3 or a lower B-title is the senior B-chief present he remains túol.

When titles below A4 and B2 are at home and no title-holders senior to them are present, or at a section meeting under the same conditions, they may be called sak. Between commoners, in the absence of chiefs, the term kan is used for food. Other informants extend the use of the term sak ^{as far as} to A12 and B12 as well as to a number of titles not in the two series, making those below A12 and B12 túol.

Other than the Nanmarki and A3 certain title-holders outside the double series are also kónoŋ. Most of these are ancient priestly titles, though other ancient titles are sak. In Net these include sáwruko, sáwlik en tawn, sawkiŋi, sáwlik en pówpat, sáwati, lépen neŋ;* in Sokas they are lépen pálikir, sáwlik en pálikir,* sáwlik en sóletŋ, sápatan; in U, sáwruko, sáwati, sáwlik en áwak; in Matolenim, lépen mór, sáwati, krown en lé:taw; in Kiti, a:wlik, sa:wm, sáwmaka, sáwruko, sáwone, na:nmaŋa:w en páloŋ***, sáwkisa, sawkiŋi, lepentelewr. Unlike the A3 these are kónoŋ regardless of the presence or absence of the Nanmarki. No satisfactory explanation was obtained as to why only A1 and A3 should be kónoŋ, in the ranked title series.***

* A Kiti informant says lépen neŋ is sak; and he and a Sokas informant state that lépen pálikir (XI of pálikir) is kónoŋ only because he simultaneously holds the title sáwlik en pálikir, otherwise he is sak.

** The na:nmaŋa:w en páloŋ, who is kawn of section 35 of Kiti, is simultaneously B2 of Kiti. This is always true, whoever is the occupant of these offices, and is traceable to a series of wars over a century ago. The B2 title is sak everywhere, but the kawn title makes its holder kónoŋ in Kiti. Similarly with the wife of this man; as wife of the na:nmaŋa:w en páloŋ her female title is na:nkatin en páloŋ and she is púniyu, although as wife of the B2 she is simultaneously na:nkula:y and would ordinarily be sak, as the wife of the B2 is elsewhere than in Kiti.

*** Hambruch, 14, following Hahl, is in error in making the A2 konoŋ; he is sak.

Wives of all men who are kónot are called púniyu, and wives of men who are sak are also sak.

Men entitled to kónot used to receive large shares in the food distribution at feasts. As an indication of the position to which some of these titles have sunk, the present sáwko:n of Net, whose title gives him the right of kónot, refused at the time the title was offered him to accept it unless he was accorded sak only; he felt that since his share of food would be small kónot would be an empty honor and a mockery.

The titles are similarly ranged according to the honorifics used for the verb "to come." In Net the titles A1 to A7, B1 to B5, and the priestly titles are kótito; chiefs from A8 and from B6 down to an indeterminate level are ápeto; the commoners are kóto. In Matolenim A1 to A8 and B1 to B8 are said to be kótito, and lower titles are ápeto. The references do not change when the higher chiefs are absent as do the words for food.

MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

The Position of the Nanmarki and Nanken

The existence of two supreme chiefs in each wey provides a mechanism of government which is always in a rather delicate state of balance. The Nanmarki, in virtue of his semi-sacred person, was formerly quite removed from the general populace, who came more closely in contact with the Nanken. The Nanken made most of the practical decisions and the promotions, though theoretically in consultation with the Nanmarki. In many respects, as Bascom points out, his position compares with that of the talking-chief in Samoa. He was looked upon as a sort of champion of the people who intervened for them in the face of the wrath of the Nanmarki. Consequently he was in a position to become the real master, and some incumbents of the office seem actually to have done so; thus Nanku, the Nanken of Kiti from about 1850 to 1870, was the real ruler of Kiti and completely eclipsed the Nanmarki. But Nanku was a powerful personality whose character strongly impressed Gulick, the missionary, as a number of Gulick's letters reveal. In theory, at least, the Nanmarki had and still has more power, and a difference of opinion was supposed always to go his way; and sometimes the two chiefs reverse their roles and it is the Nanmarki who approaches the Nanken on behalf of the people.

That open discord seldom arose attests to the stability of the state of balance between the two chiefs. Occasional quarrels might arise; there is the case of Paulino, Bl of Net, who quarreled with the Nanmarki and nearly split the wey asunder. But he made a feast of

apology after three days. He was considered extremely rash to have waited so long, for after three days without an apology a clan war is supposed to ensue. Another case is that of Isowani, the ruler of Sokas, who in a coup d'etat took over the rulership of Net too; the Bl chief of Net sulked for a period but his ultimate reconciliation to Isowani attests to the pressures exerted against a falling out between the two lines. The present rulers of Kiti and Matolenim have had violent quarrels but these were quickly made up. Although numerous instances were collected of clan wars and of wars between sub-clans of the same clan no case was reported of a war between the A-line and B-line clans of any wey. In a case of a quarrel between the Al and Bl a reconciliation by means of a feast of propitiation must soon be effected, otherwise the wey would be considered to be falling apart. The devices in use to force such reconciliation, particularly the power ascribed to kava to bring about a change in attitude, are arbitrarily recognized mechanisms in which all concerned concur.

The social pressures for political stability are numerous. The A and B lines intermarry, and the B-line stands in the fictitious relationship of children to the A-line. Sometimes a Nanmarki and Nanken will actually be father and son or son and father, as is true in Net today. The mutual respect or affection immanent in such a relationship is indicated by the failure of overt jealousy to develop when a section switches allegiance from one to the other.

Each of the two leading chiefs finds himself surrounded by attendants of the opposite line, since members of one's own line may not take the necessary familiarities which develop in such a relationship. A variety of attachments may thus spring up. An extremely strong bond in the kinship organization is that between a man and his sister's husband or between him and his wife's brother; brothers-in-law (mwa:) are bound to go to one another's assistance in any difficulties, if need be to die for each other, to respect and honor one another; the saying goes, "My mwa: is my Nanmarki." Since the two lines intermarry every man of A-title must have a number of men in the B-line in the actual or classificatory mwa: relationship, and vice-versa; thus the kinship bond serves to reinforce the political bond.

Formerly, when the Nanmarki and Nanken could not come to an understanding, the priests might intervene. The B2, as principal priest, was particularly charged with this duty and assumes the same function nowadays. Certain other powerful chiefs might likewise mediate; in Matolenim the Lépen Morr is one of these.* In addition the personal attendants of the Nanmarki and Nanken, particularly the A:w'n Má:riki and Lépankin, who were simultaneously priests, might come between the two rulers.

Privileged Behavior of the B-line

The seri:so or B-line titleholders in their position of fictitious children of the A-titleholders have a number

*This figure occupies a special place. He belongs to neither A nor B lines, being a member of clan 7, which is a commoner clan in Matolenim; but he is of a higher level than the section heads, holding several sections as his own fief. He ranks as sowpéyiti and sits beside the Nanmarki on the main platform of the community house. He "is the crown of the Nanmarki" for certain legendary reasons.

of privileges which are peculiar to them. They may sit or stand anywhere in the community house during feasts, in contrast to the commoners and the A-line. They need not bow when they pass before the Nanmarki. Traditionally they may violate all sorts of standards of behavior to which others must adhere. A seri:so can always be recognized by his loud talking and his free demeanor, both in the community house and outside of it; "they go about yelling and respect nobody." The head of the seri:so line, the Nanken, who is considered as the eldest son of the Nanmarki, could take familiarities with his ascribed father that no one else might; at a feast of propitiation (to:m) he might go so far as to violate the sacredness of the Nanmarki's head by seizing him and forcing him to drink kava. He might take an impertinent tone in conversation with the Nanmarki and there are even cases when he replied in kind after being struck.

Traditionally such privileged behavior dates back to the time of Isokalakal, the conqueror of Ponape and the first Nanmarki, whose son, Nàlɛpɛnyín, became the first Nanken. The son did all the forbidden things: he climbed up on his father's canoe from the outrigger side, he handed his father fish on the end of his spear instead of strung together, he stood in the canoe in his father's presence as it neared the bank, he descended from the middle, he entered the community house from the rear end of the side platform instead of through the central area, and he walked down the inside edge

of the platform instead of down the center. Thenceforth unconventional and indecorous behavior was expectable of the B-line.

The theory behind these ascribed behavior patterns is that the Nanmarki is an indulgent "father" and permits his "sons" to take liberties that no one else dares. Not so with the A-line; such men, though potential heirs to the Nanmarki's position, must be meek and humble in demeanor, for they have no fiction of being favored children to support any untoward behavior. Whether the fiction has any fact behind it other than the legend of Isokalakal is problematical. Informants state that formerly when a Nanmarki whose son was Nanken died the A2 would take his place, depose the Nanken, and install his own son instead; Kiti informants charge other way with still following this practice, and everywhere U is held up as the horrible example. But examination of actual careers of title-holders in U and elsewhere does not verify the generalization. A number of cases in which the A1 had been father to the B1 were revealed, but only very rarely did the son assume office while the father still lived; and the converse, where the B1 was father to the A1, was just as common. The only reasonable explanation for the conventionalized behavior, other than the legendary one, is that such deposition actually occurred formerly. If such be the case the Nanmarki must have played a more active political role in earlier days than he seems to have done in post-contact times, and the parallel between the position of the Nanken and that of the talking-chiefs of Samoa loses some of its force.

The possible connection between the fictitious parent-child relationship and the Crow kinship system of Ponape which elevates the father's sister's children one generation and lowers the mother's brother's children one generation will be discussed elsewhere.

Political Councils

None of the Nanmarkis ever approached the absolute, despotic authority of their semi-historical predecessors, the Sawt~~le~~lewr line of kings, who made such continual and arbitrary demands upon their subjects that, it is said allegorically, a man could not so much as find a louse on his head without having to deliver it to the Sawt~~le~~lewr. But the Nanmarkis varied considerably according to their individual characters and those of their opposite numbers, the Nankens; and from time to time a section chief or a strong warrior might steal some of their authority.

That the rulers did not have everything their own way is evident from the occasional calling together of all the people in a political assembly (pókon) to discuss various projects, such as the building of a big community house (nas). This might be a meeting of a clan, of the people of a section, or of all the people of a wey, under their respective heads. They were apparently called when the majority of the people seemed to be opposed to a course of action by the chief, in order to persuade ~~them~~ to come around to his point of view. A Nanmarki in Matolenim in pre-contact times is said to have made numerous decisions without consulting his subjects, who rose and marched against him. He called upon his own clansmates to help, but

he had alienated them too and they did not respond to his plea; finally he was killed.

Courts and Trials

Meetings of the highest chiefs of a wey, of a clan, or of any political or social grouping are known as kópōŋ. Hambruch describes them as much more of a formal affair than they actually appear to have been. He refers to them as law-suits, while actually they seem to have been meetings of chiefs for consultations concerning war, work projects, titles, and only occasionally involving law. In its legal aspects the kópōŋ resembled a criminal trial more than a law-suit. In addition to the wey chiefs the kawn of the section where the accused lived would attend. Generally the Nanken would preside, less often the Nanmarki, who was usually considered to be above such mundane affairs and would not know his subjects well enough to function effectively in such matters. Today, however, the Nanmarki is occasionally the judge under the civil administration. The kawn would previously have investigated and brought the accused to trial, and the only testimony taken was from him. The Nanken would pronounce judgement on any commoner and on members of his own clan; if a member of the royal clan was on trial the Nanmarki or A2 would give judgement.

For the crime of gazing on a woman of high rank at her bath, the equivalent of adultery, the punishment was death. For seduction of the wife or widow of a Nanmarki or Nanken execution was also the penalty. These crimes might be forgiven if the whole clan of the guilty man quickly made a feast of atonement, but even then the culprit was restricted

to his section for a time. The woman was not ordinarily punished. Rape was considered as the same as seduction; if the woman was unmarried it was no different from any sexual adventure, to which no penalty was attached, save that there was some element of disgrace if force was involved; but rape seems to have been very rare in any case. Sexual perversion was similarly considered and ridicule was the only social sanction employed; that it was effective is attested by a number of suicides that resulted. Murder of a member of the royal and noble clans was punished by execution; similarly with incest involving members of these clans. Stealing from a chief resulted in a beating, but most thieves were punished only by ridicule, as lazy fellows.

It seems obvious that for the most part the kópox dealt with crimes against the ruling clans; similar crimes against commoners were most often punished by direct revenge. It is difficult to draw the line between personal vengeance and legal punishment. For example, when a commoner exercised blood revenge for the murder of his clansmate there was little difference, essentially, between his act and that of the Nanken in delegating someone to execute the murderer of one of his clansmates. An offense against a commoner seldom was brought before the kópox; instead there would be a meeting similar to the kópox of the clansmen and relatives in other clans of the injured party and from among them were chosen the instruments of revenge. In the kópox the assembled judges would belong to one or both of the two chiefly clans, and the crime being tried would have been committed against one of their clansmates; as noted elsewhere, these two clans

were considered to be in the actual or fictitious relationship of parent and child, and were further bound by ties of marriage; hence there was virtually the same situation as in the case of blood revenge. Informants, in speaking of these matters, make little distinction between clan and wey. For example, they say that in Net the punishment for incest was not death, as it was elsewhere in Ponape; but it develops that they are speaking of clan 7, which is the A-line in Net and whose members traditionally intermarried among themselves. Some informants refer to the kópon as a clan, not a wey, meeting. The state has the aspect here, as elsewhere, of a clan, but a clan paramount among other clans and able, because of its coercive powers, to lend some show of formality to an institution it otherwise shared with the clans it ruled.

Under such circumstances, then, the legal code could not be a very formal one. Descriptions of various kópon are vague and inconsistent, as would naturally result from such a loosely organized institution. For the same crime a trial might be held on one occasion and direct vengeance taken on another. There was also inconsistent treatment of quarrels between commoner clans. Individual chiefs varied greatly in this respect; usually they tried to settle matters by arranging a kópon, but often they did not interfere with blood revenge; at other times they might become angry when a clan war started and send messengers to stop the fighting or kill the man who began it.

The vendetta was not a Ponapean institution. Usually a crime was expiated when one act of retribution had taken place, and the quarrel was not pursued further, unless the

first act led to a war. If the actual culprit was not caught anyone else in his clan would do as a substitute. If a clan war began and one clan was driven away by the victorious side, or by a Nanmarki who had decided to punish one side, the exiled party would sometimes seek to take vengeance on clansmates of their enemy in their new home.

When personal property was damaged or destroyed the usual thing, if the victim felt strong enough, was to reimburse himself directly from the culprit's property or to destroy it. Where an injured man did not feel capable of taking up the quarrel himself he could lodge a complaint with the Nanmarki or Nanken and the chief would try to redress the harm. He could strike the wrong-doer, or drive him from his land, or assess him a fine in such valuables as sennit, mats, canoes, etc., which he would pay over to the wronged party. But such complaints seem to have begun only in later times; people were usually ashamed of this, for it constituted a confession of weakness, and to some extent this feeling of shame persists in the modern courts.

Informants find it difficult to understand Hambruch's statement that the Nanmarki punished "Schuldigen oder Streitenden."* Such matters were largely up to the clans concerned. It was considered most reprehensible for a clan not to attempt to take revenge for an insult or injury to one of its members, and such craven conduct earned the ridicule of all. Nevertheless, sometimes an unfaithful woman and her lover might be taken before a chief to be scolded and struck, or, since German times, to be given manual labor to do. Possibly such cases arose when blood vengeance was deemed likely to array relatives on

*Hambruch, II, 150.

opposite sides, since in a clan war brothers-in-law were expected to help.

If capital punishment was imposed certain men were delegated to effect the sentence. About the time of first white contact the Nanmarki himself or his brother seems occasionally to have been the executioner, but in earlier times certain titled men were appointed to this duty. Torture seems rarely to have been practiced. The doomed man would have his hands tied behind his back and he was then clubbed or speared; a brave man would sit with his hands unbound. In Spanish times there was a case of burning alive.

For first offenses within a sub-clan there was ordinarily no punishment, even for murder. But if a man made a reputation as a trouble-maker he would be disposed of by his fellows under the direction of the head of the sub-clan. A man of clan 2, Reysip by name, living in section 3 in Matolenim, was an obstreperous person, always bullying and striking his clansmates and acting proud and independent. Finally three men of the same sub-clan (sow'n tāmwe:ro:y), after consultation with their sub-clan chief, knifed him to death. The sole survivor of the trio, Simrayt, reports that the Spanish jailed him for four months and the Nanmarki, Paul, who had been converted to Christianity, gave him four months of labor on the canals; probably a non-Christian ruler would not have concerned himself.

Incest within a kinship group was always punished by death. But nowadays a number of incestuous unions are matters of common gossip but are tolerated.

Direct Punishment by Chiefs

A chief might formerly have the house of someone at whom he was angry burned down; this act is isim. Only the Nanmarki, Nanken, and a few other high chiefs had this power. Henry Nanpei, who was chief A6 of Kiti, is said to have done it several times, but his position was far greater than his title would indicate, owing to his father having been a Nanken when he was born and because of his wealth. On one occasion a relative of his, married to a man of clan 2, eloped with a man of clan 17; Henry went and brought her to his own home, but the man came that night and carried her off again; whereupon Henry grew very wroth, gathered his people together, and went and burned a number of houses of people of clan 17 in sections 25 and 29 of Kiti.

Usually the A1 or B1 did not need to go and do the burning himself, or even order it to be done. The A2 would know that the A1 was angry at someone and would take it upon himself to inflict the punishment; similarly the B2 might do it for the B1. If house-burning was the punishment imposed no banishment ordinarily followed.

Besides burning the house, a man's nas or the canoes, nets, and other belongings kept in the nas might be burned; or his canoes might be broken with stones and the outrigger lashings cut. Other punishments included shooting of pigs and digging up of bananas, yams, young breadfruit, young coconut trees, etc. Such destruction at the order of a Nanmarki or Nanken is known as ó:tək, the same term that is applied when a Nanmarki or Nanken lies ill and the people of all the sections must bring him quantities of food to eat.

Giving of blows was common enough, in a moment of pique, but when the Germans first used flogging as punishment the natives were, to use their own words, "greatly astonished." Worse than blows by a Nanmarki or Nanken are considered his scolding and curses.

Stone-throwing was a common practice of chiefs. It is mentioned as long ago as 1826 by O'Connell. It was done not only out of anger, however; often it was intended simply to impress upon the people their low status. Or it might be done simply because it was expected of a chief. As soon as a man was promoted to Nanmarki he would throw stones at the assembled people, and they would flee and return bearing kava in supplication. At a feast of atonement it was considered proper conduct for the person being appeased to throw stones. A Nanken of Kiti, nánawa: en múpok by name, is described as carrying a stone in each hand every time he entered the nas and flinging them at random among the people; he considered this as a species of elegance, incumbent upon a man in his position. This was about 1860, but the custom persisted until very recently; Sigismundo, Nanmarki of Kiti in Japanese times, is said to have practiced it frequently. The Nanken even more often than the Nanmarki followed the practice, and occasionally would throw stones for the Nanmarki if the latter was vexed for some reason.

Banishment

The Nanmarki, the Nanken, and the kawn of a section had the power to banish. A lesser wey chief could banish only if he were simultaneously a kawn (but one informant

states that chiefs A2 and B2 also had this power in their own right). The Nanmarki and Nanken seldom carried out an act of banishment or destruction by themselves, but usually delegated chiefs A2 or B2 to do it. The kawn derived his power to banish from the fact that he was, in many cases, of the same clan as the Nanken or the Nanmarki, depending on which of them owned the section.

Banishment of an offender is known as kàli:péta (to cause to flee). At the same time the term has been extended and is used to cover all acts of destruction as punishment by a high chief, including destruction of a man's crops, ó:tsk. Banishment of a whole sub-clan or clan (pokósela) also occurred.

Persons banished had to go at once. Usually they took refuge with their sub-clan chief, even if the latter lived in the same wey; one man, banished by the Nanmarki from his home in section 3 of Net, went to live in section 2 of the same wey, at the home of the chief of his sub-clan. But the Nanmarki might order the sub-clan chief not to shelter him, in which case he would go to live with clansmates in another wey or, if these were lacking, with members of his father's clan. As a last resort he could go to a friend who was an outstanding chief and become his servant.

Banishment was seldom imposed for a first offense. Most often a feast of propitiation sufficed in such a case.

Usually banishment was for life. But when the chief who had banished a man died the offending party might return, although often he would not because of better circumstances in his new home.

Reasons for banishment included not presenting first fruits and other food offerings, eating foods forbidden

to commoners, adultery with the wife of a high chief, or failure to obey any order. For example, in building a nas or a chief's house each section would be assigned as its share of construction the width between two upright studs in the wall (a tinak, one arm-span in width). If one section failed to complete its share its kawn might be banished.

About 1840 a man of clan 2 named Tulal, living in section 16 of Kiti, was caught gazing upon the wife of the kawn of that section when she was at her bath. He could have been executed for this offense, known as mánpil, for it is equivalent to adultery. But the kawn, since he was a member of clan 4, hence clansmate to the Nammarki, had the power to banish him. Tulal took his family and went to U to live.

The last case of banishment in Net occurred about 1900. The sówmaṭa:w (X6) of section 1 went fishing and caught a merer fish, a species which is reserved for the highest chiefs. In section 1 the senior wey chief was the ná:nsawsset, the title then corresponding to Nanken, B1, elsewhere than Net, and the fish should have been presented to him. The misdeed came to the ears of this chief, who summoned the culprit and gave him orders to go fishing again and bring him the whole catch. The sówmaṭa:w did not obey. Then the ná:nsawsset instructed the sáwlik (X8) to go and burn the house of the sówmaṭa:w, kill all his pigs, dig up his yams, and drive him and his family away. With all the food the sáwlik then made a feast for the nám sawset. The refugees went to U and lived there until the ná:nsawsset died, when the kawn called them back.

The land vacated by a banished man was awarded to someone else or taken by the chief who banished him. In a number of cases the Almarki of Sokas called upon the lépen net (then Al of Net) to do the banishing for him and the two chiefs would then make a feast together with the exiled man's belongings. The confiscated land, though in Sokas, then belonged to the lépen net. This was possible only between Sokas and Net, not between any other two wey, because their respective rulers were clansmates.

Occasionally a man was in a strong enough position to defy the Nanmarki or Nanken. Such was the case of a member of clan 5, the kawn of section 18, Matolenim, in Spanish times, who repeatedly refused to obey the Nanmarki of that wey but suffered no penalties therefor. His independence stemmed from his fame as a brave warrior against the Spanish.

A man might also seek to be banished. He might become convinced that there is no chance in his present residence of getting a higher title because elder clansmates and brothers precede him in seniority. But there is no way for him to state his ambitions frankly, since under the pattern of personal modesty it is a shameful thing deliberately to seek advancement, and he cannot move elsewhere without his brothers questioning him or insisting that he remain. Therefore he will provoke banishment by his behavior. For example, the present Al of Net formerly lived in section 3 and despaired of ever becoming the kawn, since his elder brother took precedence over him. He therefore began to flout Kalisto, the then Nanmarki. He killed pigs to sell

and offered none to Kalisto; he stopped offering first fruits; he pretended to be sick when called upon to join a work-group. Since this was in Japanese times the Nanmarki no longer had the power of banishment, but Kalisto acted as nearly in the old pattern as possible; he and the elder brother advised the younger brother to move to section 16, where his relatives gave him a piece of land. The kawn of this section was an old man and the present A4 ingratiated himself into his favor, taking over his work and ultimately becoming kawn when the old man died. Now he was able to offer first fruits direct to the Nanmarki (at this time Eduardo) instead of indirectly through the kawn. He also insinuated himself into the good graces of Joseph, the present B1 (then the B2), and his wife, without directly asserting his ambitions, but it was obvious what he wished. Joseph helped him become the sowképoro, then the A7, then A4. The elder brother was only A12; he became ashamed and left Net to live in Matolenim.

The present A7 of Sokas, similarly, was formerly a Matolenim man. He was not banished but moved to Sokas ostensibly to marry a girl who lived there but really because he had little hopes of promotion at home but knew it was easy to get a title in Sokas; Sokas is populated largely by out-islanders who have not been thoroughly assimilated to the Ponapean title-seeking pattern.

Atonement for Offenses

For a temporal offense the feast given to beg forgiveness of the offended person is known as to:m. It is similar to the feast called álu, which is given when the illness afflicting a person is diagnosed as having come from supernatural punishment for an affront to a chief or other person of authority; but with to:m there is no propitiation of a god or ghost as there is with álu. An intermediary is involved. To beg pardon of a man of the A-line a man of the B-line should serve as the intermediary, and vice-versa. If the Nanmarki is the chief whose forgiveness is to be asked, the go-between should be the B1, B2, or B3 chief, or the Nanmarki's mother's brother, or the latter's son or daughter. If it is the Nanken, the A1, A2, A3, or his equivalent relatives should come. If the Nanmarki is angry at the Nanken or the B2, or the Nanken at the Nanmarki or the A2, the offending parties themselves must present themselves, without intermediary. Should the to:m be between Nanmarki and Nanken a special feast is made, and besides the usual offerings of kava, sugar cane, or coconuts a stone oven is made with a pig or dog and yams; this is called isikele (to burn) insinsúwit (unhappiness). The stone oven and other trappings of a regular feast are required when anyone has committed a serious transgression, but for a lighter offense only a simple to:m with kava is necessary.

In one observed case the lépenkin, a small

title in Net, had slandered the Nanken, and the fact had come to the Nanken's ears. The lépenkin requested the senior wey chief in his section, the A6, to go and beg pardon of the Nanken. But the Nanken felt too aggrieved to accept such a low title as mediator; he scolded and railed at the A6 and refused to accept the proffered apology, insisting that a man of higher A-title be sent. The lépenkin hovered about the door of the house where this scene took place but the Nanken ignored his presence. When a higher chief was sent and the apology was accepted reconciliation followed.

The intermediary brings with him as a token of supplication kava, sugar cane, a basket containing five drinking coconuts, or, nowadays, cigarettes. Only the first two of these may be brought to a Nanmarki or Nanken; the others are suitable for presentation between commoners who are becoming reconciled after a quarrel. When sugar cane is brought whole and laid on the floor before the chief it always signifies an invitation to a feast or other affair, but if prepared for eating it means only pardon-begging. In the instance being described the intermediary presented a length of five sections, the terminal section of which he peeled back so that eight strips hung from the first node; the exposed portion he ringed with three shallow grooves to facilitate the breaking-off of pieces for chewing. Then he knelt on the floor, holding the sugar cane upright with the lower end on the floor. The Nanken expressed his displeasure by refusing to accept the stalk and by knocking off the uppermost section.

Another observed instance of to:m involved the Nanken of Net again. This time the A2 came, bearing a kava plant on his shoulder, root foremost as usual, but instead of laying the plant down with the root toward the Nanken, as is always done with an ordinary offering, he flipped it over so that the branches lay on the head and shoulders of the Nanken, who sat unmoving. This act at once shows that it is neither an offering nor an invitation to a feast, but a to:m. The A2 proceeded to hack off the roots, and then spoke for the first time, but merely gave a greeting; this again is the clue that it is a to:m. Then he took the roots away to the nearby nas to pound them; at this time the kava must be pounded with as rapid a beat as possible. The A2 said nothing until he brought a bowl of kava back, when he offered it to the Nanken and explained his mission. The daughter of the Nanken had left her husband a week before, and the husband, who has only a small title, was now asking pardon of the Nanken, using the Aa as intermediary. The Nanken accepted the to:m. Had he shown anger or cut at the kava plant with a knife the A2 would have had to leave without saying anything and returned with more kava; this he would do three times, then the Nanken would have had to accept, for it is inconceivable that he would have refused.

Once Paulino, who was Nanken of Net, became angry at some people who failed to come when he summoned them to help build a house. The offenders came to make to:m; they brought kava, but he slashed the bush in half with a knife. They went away, returned with more kava, pounded the root, and gave him a bowl; but he dashed it from him. But the third time they came he accepted the kava and they were reconciled.

In another observed case the offended party was a man whose younger brother had not helped him to make the honor feast due the Nanmarki of U but instead had joined with other people to make a separate feast. When the younger man heard of his brother's displeasure he made a to:m to him. Another instance of to:m involved a man who had been summoned by the Nanmarki of Net to record songs for one of the anthropologists. He refused to come because he believed that the Nanmarki was being paid and he himself would get nothing; whereupon the Nanmarki called him to account before a large assembly of people, rated him severely, and required him to make a to:m, with his kawn, the B2, acting as intermediary.

Occasionally the procedure for atonement is more complicated. This usually is followed when it is the Nanmarki who is the offended party and a commoner who is the culprit. If the commoner feels that his own status is too low to approach a high B-line chief he may go to the senior member (mes'n ri'n kaynak) of his sub-clan to secure his services as go-between. The clan head, who is also a commoner, may not approach the Nanmarki directly but first makes to:m to the Nanken or B2. Then the two go together to the Nanmarki and make to:m to him. If it is the Nanken who has been offended the Nanmarki or A2 may be asked to intercede.

If a member of one commoner sub-clan has insulted or injured a member of another, and a war threatens, the procedure is similar; the head of the first sub-clan approaches the Nanken who intercedes with the Nanmarki, who then summons the head of the second sub-clan. If the latter and his party are very angry there is little talk at first; a simple to:m is made with a kava plant.

The Nanken gives the head of the second sub-clan a cup of kava and begs him to be appeased, and when he has drunk the Nanken hands the first sub-clan head another cup which he in turn hands to the second sub-clan head; then the Nanken gives the latter a third cup which is passed on to the offending sub-clan head, who drinks and passes it back for the other to drink. Thereupon the offense is erased.

To:m between sub-clans should be made as soon as possible; formerly the offended party would wait at most three days before beginning hostilities. A war of this sort occurred in German times in Kiti, in a quarrel over a seduced woman.

It is the Nanken who is most often approached to act as go-between because he is considered as the protector of the people against the wrath of the Nanmarki, who is traditionally remote from the commoners. When the Nanken intercedes with the Nanmarki he takes the cup of kava and offers it to the Nanmarki; if the latter refuses to drink the Nanken will argue and scold, and may even seize him about the head with his left arm and pour the kava down his throat. Sometimes if the Nanmarki sees him coming with the kava bush he may flee from his house. If the intermediary meets the Nanmarki on the path he may take two small pieces of kava root, roll them in a kava leaf, and offer them as a symbolic cup of kava. Lesser chiefs than a Nanken, acting as intermediary with a Nanmarki, may not scold or force the drinking of the kava; but the brother of the Nanmarki's father, whatever his title, may scold. Sometimes the arguing lasts for hours, the Nanken speaking for the people, until the Nanmarki at last accedes. Less often the two high chiefs reverse their roles, and the Nanmarki acts as intermediary and may force the other to

drink. At such times the supplicating chief quotes old sayings, e.g., menin kaso:r sowpeyti (chiefs forgive people) and menin kaw arames (commoners injure people); the purport of this being that though commoners do not overlook an offense it should be disregarded by a high chief. A chief is supposed to have the attitude that all difficulties and unpleasant events are things that pass and they should be ignored; a Nanmarki should not scold or lose his calm but should remain dignified under any stress. Therefore he must allow himself to be placated. When the Nanmarki would throw stones out of anger on any occasion, the Nanken might immediately come with a kava bush and flip it over on his head, and his anger was stilled immediately.

Kava is the biggest inducement in making atonement. A Nanmarki or Nanken is not supposed to be able to scorn an offer of kava, or he would be held in contempt by the people. The Nanken of Net considers Hambruch's remarks about severity of punishments and the use of the death penalty as exaggerated, for a high chief should sooner or later be mollified by repeated offers of kava. Most often his reluctance to forgive is feigned, and should the intermediary leave without a settlement being made "he would feel bad." On one occasion, previously referred to, Paulino, a Nanken of Net, quarreled with Eduardo, his contemporary Nanmarki; Paulino went to his home and sulked for three days, but then he returned and made two to:m to Eduardo, one in his home and one in the nas. Paulino was very rash to wait this long, for it might have led to a war between his clan and that of the Nanmarki. Should either a Nanmarki or Nanken fail to accept the proffered kava it would be a sign that the wey was falling apart.

To:m involves the offices of an intermediary. But more drastic than to:m is sàkanpáwt (sak, to eat; pawt, spouse, referring to a woman's giving herself to a man to use as he wishes); in this case no go-between is used, but the culprit delivers himself completely into the hands of the chief, body and life and possessions, throwing himself upon the chief's mercy. While it is possible for a chief to refuse to:m he is not supposed to be able to reject a plea of this nature. About 1898 two men of Section 1, Net, went to Section 3 to fetch a param tree to make a canoe. It was the custom that after the hull was shaped the canoe-makers took their axes, laid them before the highest chief of the section, and begged permission to finish the job. But the two men here concerned failed to do this. The kawn heard that they were making a canoe; he took an axe and came to where they were working; as he approached they took to their heels, but he pelted them with stones and laid them both senseless, then he chopped up their canoe. The two men, when they had recovered, made a sàkanpáwt feast to the kawn; one of them brought a large boar with long tusks (a xipar, teeth emerged), the other a large sow past productive age (a yówpwow, barren), both of these exceedingly valuable offerings; each also brought five ten-man yams and one ten-man kava plant. Thereupon they received forgiveness.

SUPERNATURAL SANCTION OF CHIEFLY AUTHORITY

The authority of a chief is supported by his protective ghost (áni). Each chief has such a spirit, who may be an ancestral ghost (áni mel or áni árames) or his clan deity (ániwàs). When a Nanmarki or other chief is angry at a man who has neglected to perform proper acts of fealty the áni also becomes angry, because the chief and his protective ghost are always in the same, harmonious mood; or even if the chief is not aware of the affront the ghost will know about it and become irked; in either case the result is a sickness of a special kind (a riyála) which befalls the offender, or more often his child. Such a disease comes if the Nanmarki or Nanken is not invited to a new-house ceremony to dedicate the building or to any other feast where his presence is required; if the owner sleeps in the new house only one night he will get sick and die. Likewise if a man fails to present nó:pwéy, or any of the fishes and turtles which are the due of a chief, the disease will come.

Some recorded instances of ghostly punishment shed light on the ideas surrounding these beliefs. In one case a child was ill, and its parents brought it to a female shaman to diagnose the cause of the disease. In her trance the god Sàngiro spoke through her; he was angry because the father of the child had pounded a large kava plant and drunk with his friends in private, not offering it to the local high chief, the Lépen pálikir. Sàngiro is the deity of the Típwinwáy

clan, to which the local high chief belongs, hence it was he who avenged the affront to his human partner. The father of the child made a feast of propitiation and apology (álu) to the chief and the child recovered at once. In another case a child died from supernaturally induced disease because its parents had caught and eaten royal fish and not brought any to the Nammarki of Matolenim, whose subjects they were; the diagnosis came through the actions of the child on its death-bed. In a third case a little girl was sick and a female doctor, in preparing the medicine, saw signs that it was a riyála, brought about because the chief of the séctiön where they lived was angry over their neglect to bring him first fruits of fish and kava and their failure to bring pigs to feasts. The parents performed an álu and the child immediately recovered. In still another instance the woman who had adopted the child of the Nállaym of Net refused, when ordered to do so, to contribute a pig to a feast the Nállaym was making to some visitors to Parem, where he is the senior chief; the Nállaym was vexed and the ghost of his dead father, as determined later by divination, caused the child to become ill; it recovered only when the woman made an álu to the Nállaym. The woman herself did not become sick because the Nállaym's father was not her áni, being of the same clan but of a different sub-clan; but the child, though of a different clan, was his lineal descendant. An ancestral áni can cause only his own descendants to fall ill.

The concept of supernatural punishment for an affront to a chief is identical with ideas about the effects of disrespect shown to the head of a family or the head of a sub-clan. Even in the case of a group of brothers and sisters ghostly retribution is exacted when the eldest sibling is not granted his prerogatives. In one case a woman's newly purchased chickens died, and her largest pig disappeared and was found only when she came to beg forgiveness of her elder brother for not having given him any of the fowl. Somewhat similar is the case of the sons of the Nállaym of Net, who had new canoes made but failed to invite their father to the dedication feast when they were complete. As a result the canoe hulls split. Taking things without permission from an older relative, speaking disrespectfully to him, failure to make presents, etc., cause the anger of the offended relative to be transmitted to the áni of the clan, sub-clan, or family, resulting in a riyála or other punishment. The family áni acts even to enforce domestic authority; in one instance an unruly boy's mother's dead brother visited him at night and caused a recent wound to throb unceasingly, then explained why he had done so; the informant could hear him plainly, he insists.

The áni of the group of relatives, like the áni of a chief, cannot cause the senior member of the group to become ill, since he is in harmony with that person and acts through him.

This throws some light on the relationships between political units and kinship units, and between deities and

ghosts in Ponape. Most gods (ániwàs) are said to have existed always, and on this ground are distinguished from ghosts. But they are also linked with clans. Thus Iso:káneki is a Lipeta:n clan god, Likentká:npeyn is a Tipwinpá:nmay, Lukénset is a Tipwinpá:pa. In the wey of Net the áni of the Nanmarki are Liyesenkómwat, who is the god of the Sównkawát clan to which the Nanmarki and his mother belong, and Lùmótelang, the god of the Tipwilap clan to which the Nanmarki's father belongs; at the same time he has the ghost of one of his immediate ancestors as an additional áni. Legendarily the gods are in the position of mother (in) or mother's brother (ú:lap) to members of the clan. It therefore appears that the supernatural being which becomes angered at disregard of prerogatives due to men senior in title and age is always the actual or legendary ancestor, direct or collateral, of the person it protects. The áni of a commoner, who is ordinarily a recently dead ancestor, is called an áni árames (human ghost) but the equivalent áni of a Nanmarki or other high chief is an áni lápalap (great ghost) and serves as a bridge in the possible derivation of gods (ániwàs) from ghosts. Since the various types of supernatural beings are prayed to indiscriminately at the feast of propitiation, with no difference in attitude or objective, it seems reasonable to state that Ponapean religion consists largely of ancestor worship, with the reservation that a non-ancestral deity, the Christian God,

has today come to assume in many instances the role formerly played by the áni. A principal difference between the two types of supernatural beings is that a god can make a non-descendant fall ill while a ghost can visit disease only upon his own descendants; but this would be a natural political development, the effect of which would be to extend the power of a Nanmarki, who is head of both his clan and his wey, over all his subjects instead of over only his clansmates.

The feast of propitiation when an áni and riyála are involved, is called álu; it is different from the to:m, which is a feast offered to someone as an apology and to soothe anger for a temporal offense, or, in the case of the canoes splitting referred to previously, when supernatural punishment is involved but not disease. Three objects must be brought by the parents or other relatives of the sick person: kava, a dog or pig, and yams to be baked. The kava bush is laid before the Nanmarki or other offended person and the animal is placed among its branches. (This resembles a nó:pwey except that the animal must be brought already slaughtered, whereas at a nó:pwey it is presented alive; and at a nó:pwey the animal is never laid on the kava branches). After the stone oven is started the Nanmarki makes a special prayer (sàkarti:ta) to his áni for the offerers; nowadays many chiefs pray instead to the Christian God. If the offended ghost is a family áni, as determined by a diviner, it is sometimes propitiated directly,

with an old man or woman familiar with the proper procedure making the prayer and the whole family assembled by the sick person before whom they lay the food being offered. Formerly a shaman might function in the community house in place of a chief.

Taboos

A taboo (inópwí) may be imposed by a Nanmarki during times of scarcity of any product. Yams, kava, pigs may be placed under a ban and during the period involved no one may make a feast and all must eat sparingly. Particularly yams were tabooed formerly, since they were fewer in number and variety than nowadays. Breadfruit was never tabooed, since it grows without cultivation and is plentiful. Some types of fish are also prohibited periodically; kiok, which are scarce in February, are often tabooed for the month and sometimes, if the scarcity continues, during March as well. Some species are prohibited during their breeding season.

Such prohibitions have no spiritual concepts attached and merely serve practical purposes. Nowadays a similar edict by the civil administration is called by the same term, inópwí. The word, however, is also used when a man wishes to protect a valuable tree or other object and ties a coconut leaf around it, at the same time saying a charm; or when he wishes to prevent trespass on his land and lashes a coconut leaf between two posts. In such a case spiritual punishment would come to the transgressor in the form of ulcers, whether the taboo were violated wittingly or not.

WARS

Wars between two wey consisted of single raiding expeditions of short duration. Usually the victors returned home the same day. They would destroy the banana, kava, and yam plantations of the losing side, as well as the smaller breadfruit trees; the large trees were too difficult a job to tackle in a short time with shell axes and knives. The houses would be burned after looting them. Such prisoners as might be taken would be killed, either on the way home or after arrival there; this applied to women and children as well as to men.

Battles generally involved an invasion with a fleet of canoes which would be met by the opposing fleet some distance off shore. First sling-stones were used, then at closer quarters bows and arrows came into play, and finally spears and clubs. If the defending fleet were forced back to shore the battle continued on land. O'Connell describes one such encounter in which some three hundred men lost their lives, but living informants who participated in wars after the introduction of rifles recall at most twenty deaths in a single engagement and usually fewer. O'Connell also records that in battle there was strict segregation by class, chiefs fighting only against chiefs, commoners against commoners. Modern informants know nothing of this but do remember that the life of the enemy Nanmarki or Nanken would always be spared.

The usual plan of battle was to send a challenge to the opposing side setting an appointment and place for the engagement. But military stratagems were not wanting. There were numerous cases of spying and of ambush. The clan 7

conquerors of Net and Sokas according to legend spied upon the enemy by hiding under taro leaves. In one of the Kiti wars the Palŋ people were defeated when they massed against an apparent attack by a fleet of canoes only to discover that the sea attack was a feint and the canoes were filled with dummy warriors, the main Kiti forces having come from behind them by land. In Spanish* times a clan 13 man killed the brother of the Nanmarki of Matolenim, also of clan 13 but of a different sub-clan. He took refuge in a mountain fort. The Nanmarki and the Lépin Mŋrr, after planning their strategy, pretended to have a falling out with one another and staged a mock battle at which a few men on each side received light wounds. The Lépin Mŋrr then retired with his people to the area he governed and called upon the murderer to come and help him. When he arrived with his forces they set out together, ostensibly to attack the Nanmarki, but enroute through the woods the men of the Lépin Mŋrr seized the murderer, bound him, and delivered him to the Nanmarki, who had him burned alive.

Land was seldom taken by a winning army. When the object of a war was to replace one ruling clan by another there would be a wholesale shift in the holders of titles but the only immediate economic effect was that the new Nanmarki and Nanken and such section chiefs as were replaced received offerings instead of the old ones; the greater number of families remained on their farmsteads. Occasional shifts of a section from one wey to another are recorded

*Christian, 116, gives an account of what seems to be the same incident but apparently puts it in an earlier period.

but these were more often through peaceful means than by conquest; thus section 32 of Kiti was transferred to Net for a period because of the gratitude of the Al of Wóni to the Bl of Net for his help in the war against Pálon.

Wars between wey, according to native theory, resulted not from economic causes but from pride. A Nanmarki "would feel proud when he saw how many people he had and that they were ready to go to war;" he might himself pick a quarrel on slight pretext. Net and U frequently warred with no apparent immediate cause; clan 2, which composes the A-line of U, remained bitter after they were ousted from their similar position in Net by clan 7 and would seize every opportunity to take revenge. The wars between the two wey are referred to as kówsor en wónik (kówsor, a violent game between friends; wónik, the ancient name for Sokas, Net, U, and the part of Matolenim called Animwan); they were thought of in the light of a manly sport. After such a war each side was supposed to be satisfied; they would visit one another with large fleets of canoes to exchange the formal to:m, at which times they would behave like great friends.

Sometimes, when a man was given a title, instead of making the usual title-payment feast he would prefer to gather his kinsmen and wage war for his lord in token of his fealty. Such an action was considered even better than a feast. The Nanmarki might order the would-be warrior not to set forth, but usually he consented; if so, he would choose the enemy against whom the man might exhibit his valor.

Occasionally a clan war resulted from a quarrel over titles. It might happen that a title was given to a great warrior in return for his deeds in battle, and in such cases his clan came to think of the title as belonging to them. In Spanish times a clan 7 man of Matolenim distinguished himself in fighting against the Spanish and in return he received the title of Kániki of Matolenim. When he died, however, the Nanmarki Solomon gave the title to his own adopted son, a man of clan 6. The members of clan 7 were incensed. They raided the property of the head of clan 6 at Tamón and destroyed his houses, canoes, and yams; then they fortified themselves under their chief, the Lépan Mōrr, in their own sections. The clan 6 people ranged themselves around the Nanmarki at Tamón, and the Nanken and all the men of high title came to stay with them. Neither side could approach the other. Finally a number of chiefs friendly or related to both sides intermediated and some of the leading men of clan 7 were induced to come and make a to:m to the Nanmarki. Though all was forgiven Ponape was by now under German rule and each side had to send a number of its partisans to penal servitude in Rabaul for a year. The title of Kániki was given back to clan 7.

Wars between sub-clans of the same clan were not uncommon. One such occurred ^{in Matolenim} in post-contact times but prior to 1860 between two sub-clans (the pá:nma:y and í:nanpá:ylō) of clan 13. A woman of clan 9 was married to a man of the second sub-clan but had a lover who belonged to the first; They were surprised together at a place of assignation. He was speared as he fled, but she escaped without punishment. A war broke out then between the two sub-clans and the first sub-clan was driven away to U and Net.

PREROGATIVES OF CHIEFS

Confiscatory Powers

Aggrandizement and avarice of chiefs seems to have had few checks. A chief who already possessed one section but wanted another as well might simply go to the second section, command the people to prepare a stone oven for him, and state that henceforth the section belonged to him. This act was known as ki:âmpuk.* The primary meaning of the term seems to be applicable to ordinary cases of land inheritance, when precedence in inheritance was contested and each applicant sent a basket of coconuts to the Nanmarki in token of his claim. In some cases it is applied when a section voluntarily or even against the will of its lord transfers its allegiance to another chief. But in this case there was outright confiscation. The kawn of the section could do nothing to prevent it if the interloper had a title higher in rank than his.

Ki:âmpuk was also made by the head of the section immediately after he learned that the head of another section had died; haste was necessary, because sometimes there might be competition in the seizure. The term as used here applies only to a change in ownership between clans, since members of the same clan were not supposed to aggrandize against one another; usually the change was between the royal and noble clans, and might involve even the Nanmarki and Nanken themselves. Thus in Kiti sections 2 and 13 at one time belonged to the Nanmarki but were taken from him by the Nanken (see previous remarks, page 19f).

* Informants translate variously as "knotted basket" and "pleading basket."

The sections which form the part of Kiti known as Lúkap were similarly taken from their independent kawn by the Nanken. Sections 23, 28, 29, and 32 were once under the Nanken, but during the time that a man named Nánawa: en mútok held this office (about 1860) he built a community house which required a large amount of sennit, then built a chief's canoe (wá:rasap) whose outriggers also took much of this material. The people of these four sections despaired, since they were called upon to deliver the required fiber, whose making is arduous and tedious. They decided to switch their allegiance to the Nanmarki. In this case, as in the case of sections 2 and 13, there were no difficulties over the ki:ámpuk; the two chiefs concerned are reported only to have laughed the matter off, since a Nanken is always in the position, actual or fictional, of son to the Nanmarki, and there is supposed to be generosity and harmony between them.

In Net and Sokas, which were ruled by the same clans, the Al of one wey might ask the Al of the other for a piece of land, and when he went to take up the claim the second Al would give him a feast which would be called ki:ámpuk also. But such a thing was possible only between these two wey, since the others were under different clans. Or if a high chief drove someone from a piece of land to possess it himself, the tenants of the land involved would make such a feast to him.

Ki:ámpuk is a term also applied in cases of confiscation of land in punishment for a misdeed. The case of the X6 of section 1 of Net, referred to previously (p.82), insofar as it

involved reversion of his land to the Bl of Net, was an act of ki:ámpuk.

A high chief might confiscate any article he wished, simply out of greed, not necessarily as an act of punishment. Such an act was known as ku:l. (In Kiti the term is also used for acts of destruction by a chief.). A chief or his messenger would go into a house and point out things he wanted, or go to the community house in a section and demand that various things be brought him. People with fine objects would hide them in the bush, or surrender a poor substitute if they could get away with it, when they heard that ku:l was being made. A Nanmarki or Nanken (but no lesser chief) might send a messenger from house to house with a tiny sponge hanging from a strip of hibiscus bast or a small shuttle wound with a piece of sennit; the messenger would show these articles to the householder, saying, "pá:rón" (command), and the people would deliver to the messenger whatever sponges or balls of sennit they had. Such a demand for sennit is po:n kápeymwáw (pon, upon; kápey, thigh; mwaw, good; referring to rolling sennit on the thigh.).

The Nanmarki might also demand (lépen á:lsk) that all the women make sleeping mats (lo:s). He would notify the section heads, who would pass the word on to the women in their sections; the women would begin to gather pandanus in January or February, the period of less rain, and present the finished mats to the Nanmarki at the end of the year; he would keep the best specimens, distribute others to his higher chiefs, and return the poorest ones.

Not only the highest chiefs felt free to call on their subjects to deliver up their possessions to them. The Sawkó:x of Net (A3 in the old Net series) of three generations ago, who lived at the mouth of a river used to call fishermen ashore from where they were fishing in the lagoon and pick out the best canoes which he would keep for himself.

Both ku:l and ki:ámpuk were very common, ku:l being somewhat rarer and considered more drastic. Both practices were commoner in Kiti than elsewhere. Ku:l persisted into Spanish times, ki:ámpuk to the beginning of German times. More recently the term ku:l was used to mean legal permission by a Japanese judge extended to a creditor to seize property of a debtor in satisfaction of a debt.

Arrogance as described above was not always tamely brooked. About 60 years ago B1 of Net who lived in section 5 came to sections 17 and 18, went to the community house and seated himself, and demanded that kava be prepared. He drank, then called for various objects to be brought him as ku:l, and took them away with him. He returned a second time and repeated his performance. The people of these sections were saddened. The third time he came to section 17 he made ki:ámpuk. This strained the patience of the people beyond sufferance; despite the position of the B1 a number of them, led by two men of clan 6, seized his canoe as he sat in it at the water's edge, capsized it, and held him under water until he was nearly drowned. Though the B1 had four men with him they were outnumbered and stood helplessly by. He was allowed to leave and never returned to these sections nor exacted any vengeance.

Personal Attendants

The highest chiefs have a number of personal attendants, á:rír, who receive special titles. Some informants refer to them indiscriminately as látu, servants, but the latter, though they performed some similar duties, are primarily menial workers and such titles as they receive are not standardized as are those of the á:rír.

The titles of the á:rír are as follows:

| | Matolenim | Net | Kiti |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------|
| á:rír of A1: | | | |
| 1. lómpwo:y en í:sipaw | 1. máreke:tik | 1. lómpwo:y en í:sipaw | |
| 2. sówel en í:sipaw | 2. á:r'en mwar | 2. máreke:tik | |
| 3. á:r'en mwar | 3. lúwan mwar | 3. á:r'en má:riki | |
| 4. lú:wan mwar | 4. aw'n má:riki | There are said | |
| 5. aw'n má:riki | | to be more. | |
| á:rír of A2: | | | |
| 1. sówel en wása:y | 1. sówel en wása:y | 1. lómpwo:y en wása:y | |
| 2. lómpwo:y en wása:y | 2. lómpwo:y en wása:y | 2. á:r'en pútak | |
| 3. á:r'en pútak | 3. á:r'en pútak | 3. á:r'en wása:y | |
| | 4. á:r'en wása:y | | |
| á:rír of A3: | | | |
| á:r'en aw | á:r'en aw | á:r'en aw | |
| á:rír of A4: | | | |
| á:r'en no: | á:r'en no: | á:r'en no: | |
| á:rír of A5: | | | |
| á:r'en áwa | á:r'en áwa | | |
| á:rír of A7: | | | |
| á:r'en krow | | | |
| á:rír of B1: | | | |
| 1. á:r'en kin | 1. á:r'en kin | 1. á:r'en kin | |
| 2. aw'n kin | 2. aw'n kin | 2. aw'n kin | |
| 3. lepén kin | 3. lepén kin | 3. lepén kin | |
| á:rír of B2: | | | |
| á:r'en laym | 1. á:r'en laym | 1. á:r'en laym | |
| | 2. wá:llaym | 2. wá:llaym | |

In other wey the titles and number of attendants vary slightly. The successor to a chiefly title inherited the same attendants. Wives of a Nanmarki or Nanken also have á:rír. Lesser chiefs, when they are the highest men of title present, sit in the place of honor on the main platform of the community house, and have attendants to sit before them as á:rír and pass them kava, but these might be anyone, selected for the occasion. Similarly a visitor and whoever else sits facing forward on the main platform have such attendants.

The attendants have the duties of body-guard, messenger, and police. A Kiti informant refers to them also as cooks (sáw'n pal). If someone stands on the main platform of the nas with his head higher than the head of the highest chiefs an á:rír tells him to desist; formerly he would have thrust him through with a spear, which he always had by him. But á:rír were not the official executioners; these officers were junior clansmates of the Nanmarki, while the á:rír belong to any clan but his. If someone walks about in the central area of the nas without specific duty to perform or drinks kava without permission (a kava pounder is supposed to drink only at the call tópákalow^{*} by the master of the kava ritual) he is seized by the attendants and forced to perform a propitiation ceremony (to:m) immediately; the kava already pounded on his stone is thrown away and he is made to supply another kava plant and pound it on the same stone. This is true for both Nanmarki and Nanken, but offenses are looked upon with more severity by the

*See p. 225.

Nanmarki's á:rír. The á:rír also see that no one uses commoner speech before the highest chiefs.

The á:rír formerly did no other work ordinarily. Some of them were part of the domestic menage of the chiefs they served. They always accompanied their master when he travelled. Today some of the titles listed above are given to men who do not perform any of their theoretical functions, and all of their holders maintain independent households.

The á:rír cannot belong to the clan of the man they serve, since such clansmates are prohibited from various familiarities with the high chiefs which the attendants must perform from the nature of their duties.* Thus a clansmate of the Nanmarki could not enter his house, an act which an attendant was often required to do. In a wey where the B-line of chiefs is composed of members of two or more clans an á:rír could not belong to any of those clans; thus in Matolenim, where the Nanken may be either Tipwinway or Lasialap, an á:rír of the Nanken can not belong to either regardless of the affiliation of any particular Nanken.

The á:rír sit like women, that is with both legs bent at the knee and to one side (men normally sit cross-legged),

*The Máreke:tík, who is Al4 or Al5, is an apparent exception, but though in the same line as the Alhe is considered as the latter's son and has a number of peculiar privileges, such as sole right to remove the kava plant which is placed in the beams above the Al's head in the community house. His title means literally "little Nanmarki." His position in the A-line is probably related to the privilege of sons of the Al and Bl of taking a title in either line during their early careers.



Attendants waiting upon chiefs on the main platform of the community house (nas). Leaning against the back wall is the Nanken of Net; to his right is a visiting chief from Sokas; in the foreground is the Nanken's wife with her attendant.

Plate II

but leaning with one shoulder toward the titled man they are serving and with the elbow on the leaning side resting on the knee on that side, and with head averted and bowed. If a man has two attendants they sit facing each other in front of him, one leaning with the right shoulder toward him, one with the left.

The attendants are the only persons not of the highest rank who may hand things direct to the Nanmarki or Nanken. Among the chiefs, B1 to B4 and the sons of men of the Nanmarki's sub-clan may hand objects to the Nanmarki; and similarly chiefs A1 to A4 and sons of men of the Nanken's sub-clan may serve the Nanken. In U the master of the kava ritual may pass a cup of kava direct to the Nanmarki or Nanken instead of to an attendant first.

The attendant hands the kava or other object to the chief whom he serves with either hand, depending on which of his shoulders is leaning in the chief's direction. If his left side inclines toward the chief, as is usually the case if there is but one attendant, he takes the cup with his left hand from the kava pounder or master of the kava ritual; then with his right hand he wipes it clean and passes it on to the chief, who also takes it in his right hand. The chief passes back the drained cup with the same hand with which he received it, and the attendant receives it likewise with the same hand. If the attendant leans with his right side forward he and the chief use their left hands in giving and receiving. In giving,



A



B

Posed photographs showing correct method of attendant passing (A) full cup of kava and receiving (B) cup back from chief.

Plate III

the attendant supports the hand holding the object with the outer side of the crooked elbow of the other arm, though usually this is only a perfunctory gesture. When the chief has drunk he thrusts the cup back, paying no heed to whether the attendant is prepared to receive it, for the latter is supposed always to be ready. The chief's wrist is caught on the crooked elbow of the attendant as he thrusts the cup or other object back, then the object is taken with the opposite hand.

The Nanmarki and Nanken formed a true leisure class, doing no work of any kind; some of the lesser chiefs, depending on personal power, likewise had their retainers do their work. Such work as there was was mostly agriculture and fishing for men, household tasks for women; people today look back on the old days as a time of mostly feasting and little work. Many people "had nothing to do" so they went and lived with their relatives of higher rank as retainers and servants. Titled men would also attract unrelated retainers from among those who had been banished from other wey for various crimes. Thus many lesser chiefs could refuse to fetch breadfruit or care for yams; many would not build canoes; no chief would ever paddle a canoe or make a stone oven, and some even today refuse to undertake such menial tasks. The wives of a Nanmarki or Nanken likewise had little to do; they occupied themselves chiefly with the making of valuable articles, such as sleeping mats or woven belts; the servants prepared the food, carried water, fetched wood, and cleaned the house, and the section chiefs brought first fruits and other offerings in daily. But a title of A2 or B2 and lower had only the workers from the section where he lived, and his wives might have more work to do.

Insignia, Deference, and Etiquette

Chiefs and rich men wore necklaces (ɛlɛnpu:r or ɛlɛnpu:l) made of beads of a yellowish or pinkish oyster (pwá:kɛ), strung on banana fiber. Skirts (kɔl) are made nowadays of a variety of materials; those made of coconut leaves are first baked in a stone oven, then left overnight in water to bleach, then dried and shredded with a special tool consisting of a slab of wood, the end of one face of which is set with needles (formerly shark's teeth). The special chiefs' skirts (kɔli:kos) were more elaborate; each strip of coconut leaf was finely crimped with a certain sea-shell (ko:mɔl or ko:pil). The crimping required the laborious efforts of several women over a period of about a week. Such skirts are not seen today. Above the skirt was worn a belt of loom-woven banana fiber called to:r; from it hung a number of pendants of pwá:kɛ shell shaped into isosceles trapezoids. Head-bands (ni:n) were frequently woven of banana fiber also. Neither of these articles are made any longer.

These ornaments were probably only indirectly a badge of rank, more directly reflecting the wealth which accrued through the offerings which came to a man of title and the retainers he gathered about him; it is stated that commoners could also wear them if they had enough relatives, that is had enough retainers so that there would be surplus time for women to spend making the articles. Priests likewise were eligible to wear them, and in the community house the attendants of the chiefs (the á:rir) wore to:r.

At a wey assembly the Nanmarki was privileged to wear

a ni:n with four red "spurs," two pointing back and two forward; the chief priest (the B2) also wore one of these, but all others, including the Nanken, could have only two such "spurs." A Kiti informant speaks of bamboo combs worn by chiefs and priests, who wore their hair piled on top of the head; the chief's comb was red in color, the priest's comb yellowish; commoners let their hair hang loose. Combs are denied by several Net informants as having existed in Ponape; they say that all people wore their hair loose or in "bundles." Hambruch does not mention any comb, but Gulick lists the term kóko as signifying comb.

The Nanmarki and brave men habitually carried a (seympá:li), a spear of coconut wood with a sharpened end (not the wo:s, which had a sting-ray point.)

The chief's house is called i:mweney. It was constructed like the ordinary dwelling house, the i:mwalap, but instead of being built of mangrove wood it was made of hibiscus, with the lower beams of breadfruit wood, and lavishly covered with sennit lashings. In the house of the Nanmarki was a special sleeping-room for his use (nanweyp). For visiting chiefs a special house was built, called i:mwenkints. Only the i:mwalap persists. The houses of high nobles often receive special names. That of Nanku, who was Nanken of Kiti before 1870, was called po:npeymásak ("Ponape fears"). Those which are not named are referred to as ténpas, an honorific used in place of the common name for house (i:m); e.g., ténpas.en wása:y lápalap for a Nanmarki's house (from his

title of address) or témpas en ní:lon, the house of the present A4 of Kiti in the farmstead of ní:lon.

Relatives of a Nanmarki, and clansmates with low titles, could not enter his house. The three highest titles below his in the same line (A2, A3, and A4) could enter his house but not his sleeping chamber. But the Nanken and other titles in the B-line could enter both house and bedroom. And, conversely, title-holders in the Nanken's line could not enter the Nanken's house except for the highest ones, but those in the Nanmarki's line might.

Near the community house and between it and the Nanmarki's dwelling house was built a little chief's house (i:mwenpátok); this was similar in construction to an ordinary house of four spans length (i:mwalap pá:kis). Here the servants of the Nanmarki slept; sometimes it served as a cook-house for the Nanmarki, and old women and widows who were relatives of the Nanmarki or his retainers kept his provisions here and prepared his meals. But its main purpose seems to have been as a place of concealment for the Nanmarki during meetings in the community house or while a feast was being prepared there. When all was made ready he would take his place on the main, front platform of the community house. Apparently there was no prohibition against seeing the Nanmarki; his concealment seems simply to have been a means of asserting his dignity by abstention from vulgar activities. If the communal activities were in progress at night the Nanmarki slept here, since commoners slept in the community house. The

Nanken and visiting Nanmarkis could also make use of this house, but the Nanken felt no need to hide himself. Titles below A2 and B2 could not enter the house at all; A2 could enter if the Nanken was there alone and B2 if the Nanmarki was alone, but neither could enter if both of the ranking chiefs were present. Lower titles (only as far down as A4 and B2 according to one informant) could remain outside and talk to the Nanmarki, but commoners might not. The house served also as a place for discussion between Nanmarki and Nanken. Nowadays the Nanmarki has been assigned various governmental functions by successive foreign administrations and his aloofness has perforce been considerably diminished.

The community house of a section (the nas en kówsap), which is constructed by the kawn of the section and his people, and that of a wey (the nas en wey), built at the command of a Nanmarki, are actually the same type of structure and are considered to be for the whole wey, despite their names. A nas en wey, however, was not built in the sections but in the wey capitol. Today community houses are usually on privately owned land and men will speak of owning a nas, though their designation and use have not altered. Under present conditions, with private ownership of land and a money economy, a distinction between the private nas and the community nas has come into being. In 1947 the Nanmarki of Net was building a private nas with the aid of kinsmen on the land of another man with whom he had made arrangements; suddenly he decided to convert the building into a nas en wey and summoned community labor from

the whole way to do the job. There was some resentment until the people learned about the change in type of the structure.

In the front center of the main platform of the nas was built a little structure with a wall two or three feet high; this was called kelepá:pi:sow. Behind this the Nanmarki and Nanken sat. The structure is not seen nowadays. Formerly the front right corner of the main platform was fenced about with a similar wall, made of cloth within memory of informants, probably of Saccharum spontaneum (a:lɛk) more anciently. Into the privacy of this room (kápinpwá:lɛk) the principal wife of the Nanmarki and of the Nanken (wives of A1-A4 and B1-B4 according to another informant), accompanied each by a female attendant (a:rír), retired in order to be shielded from the gaze of commoners during menstrual periods. The widely distributed seclusion hut for menstruants of the Caroline Islands is, apart from this weak manifestation of it, absent in Ponape. The a:lɛk flooring which covered the floor of the nas continued over this corner too, but underneath it was a pit built into the stone foundation, just large enough for a woman to sit over, which was used for disposal of the menstrual tampon of cloth or, more anciently, sponge. Informants differ as to whether the woman remained in the room during meetings and feasts or only used it to change the tampon privately. No such provision was made for commoners. The little room continued in nearly every nas until German times, when boards began to be used for flooring in place of a:lɛk and stone foundations were often replaced by piling.

The Nanmarki's principal wife was not supposed to be seen by other than her husband, though this custom was subject to modification; in the nas, for example, she sat in her rightful place in full public view. To some extent the practice applied also to the secondary wives, depending on such individual matters as uxorial jealousy and affection; sometimes one secondary wife would be regarded as highly and treated in the same manner by her husband as the principal wife. It was the clan-brethren of the Nanmarki who particularly were not supposed to see her. When all the people were assembled in the nas and word came that the Nanmarki's wife was approaching the call went out, "All likorwáy* must go and hide." This term indicated the male members of the clan of the Nanmarki and was used only in these particular circumstances. At once they left (one informant says they were chased out) and hid themselves. After she took her seat they might return. All of this is conceived of as a form of waw (honor or respect) for her.

Similarly, no member of the Nanmarki's clan was supposed ever to see the Nanmarki's wife in her house. But none of this applied to the wife of a Nanken or of any other high chief.

Sometimes, on a visit by a Nanmarki to a nas in his wey, he would send his principal wife direct to a dwelling-house and let a secondary wife sit in the nas in her place. But usually the principal wife did not travel with her husband.

The chief's canoe (wá:rasap) and the ordinary canoe

*Gulick (p.25) gives a spelling close to this as a term of abuse meaning "sore-eyed." Modern informants did not know its meaning.

(pa:nta) differ principally in the ornamental lashings and painted and carved decorations used on the former. Both of these might have a platform (poŋ) of Saccharum spontaneum built out on the leeward side as an extension of the board (tinap) which covers the central part of the hull from gunwale to gunwale. If this platform was added the canoe would lack the vertical sheer strake (pátilik) which extends above the central portion of the leeward gunwale ordinarily. Such canoes were called wá:rapoŋ. On the platform was built a little house (katáwk) where high chiefs hid from the vulgar gaze when traveling. The structure was shaped like a Quonset hut, but open at each end; the framework consisted of Ixora carolinensis (kátiyew) withes bent into shape and thatched over with ivory nut (o:s) or páram palm leaves. When not in use it was stored in the nas, to which it was carried by two men by means of a pole thrust through a loop of fiber fastened to the top of the structure. The chief's canoe, the leeward platform, and the special house are no longer seen, but middle-aged informants remember them from their childhood.

When the canoe in which a Nanmarki or Nanken is traveling reaches the bank he alone may step ashore from the middle of the vessel; all others must leave from positions closer to either end. When a canoe approaches the shore close to where a high chief is waiting it must not be under sail and all persons aboard must sit until it touches land. A man who is fishing when a Nanmarki approaches in a canoe must desist from his occupation and leave. Boatmen in a canoe meeting a chief's canoe make a wide detour and salute by slackening sail to allow it to flutter, or lower the sail entirely; if the

canoe is not under sail but being poled the boatmen sit down. The chief then tells one of his men to wave the other canoe on. A canoe, passing a chief's house, must likewise wait to be waved on. It is especially the members of the clan of the Nanmarki who have to show respect to him; formerly they had to jump out into the water, hold on to the gunwales of the canoe, and bow their heads; they still bow their heads but since Spanish times they only pull in the sail and sit down. Clansmates of the Nanken show similar deference to him.

The character of the respect shown to the Nanmarki is indicated by the fact that on his canoe one attendant did not paddle but sat facing him in the same attitude of respect that in the fishing canoe one of the fishermen is supposed to exhibit while sitting and facing the seat reserved for Ná:nulap, the fishing deity.

On a canoe-trip the wives of a high chief had to cover their heads with leaves of a variety of Alocasia macrorrhiza (sápwiki); this was in order that commoners might not see them and so that young men might not take a fancy to them and come to them by night.

Canoes of Matolenim are supposed to turn their "small ends" (i:mwatik) foremost, canoes of U their "large ends" (i:mwalap), when passing a chief. The "small end" is considered to be that from the upper part of the tree from which the hull of the canoe was fashioned, the "large end" from the lower part. This custom legendarily dates from the time when the first Nanken of Matolenim departed for U to become the first Nanmarki of that wey; his son, who later became Nanmarki of Matolenim, followed to persuade him to

return, and they took counsel at Po:nenjuk, the reef opposite section 4 of Matolenim; then, as they parted again and the father turned his canoe toward U, the son toward Matolenim, their canoes were oriented according to the custom which thereupon became established.

Belief in the sacredness of the head persists until today. Formerly it was taboo to touch the Nanmarki on pain of death,* especially his head or face or skirt. Though the penalty is nowadays void the respect attitudes continue. (But at ceremonies in the nas a woman might smear oil over the Nanmarki's back and chest, as is the custom). It was a form of respect not to awaken a high chief except by pulling the tuft of hair on his great toe, the part of his body farthest from his head. Few persons may stand so that their heads are higher than that of the Nanmarki; among those who may are the men whose duty involves calling out stages in kava pounding and in division of food, but these officials must belong to the opposite (B) line of titles. His personal attendants, who are usually of the opposite line, and the highest chiefs in that line also have this privilege. If a man wishes to climb a tall tree near the house of a man of high title he must first obtain permission ^{of} him; if he is in a tree when a high chief comes near he must climb down. In the nas, if it is necessary to fetch some object which is suspended in the rafters, and the Nanmarki is present, one of the highest seri:so chiefs (B1 to B4) or a son of a member of the sub-clan to which the Nanmarki belongs or the Márske:tik, who is considered as the Nanmarki's son, must climb up to get it;

*In Matolenim the royal executioners were three of the Nanmarki's clansmates, the krown en lé:taw, the kúla:p, and the X1 of section 26.

no one else may raise his head high enough. A man cannot pass the house of a Nanmarki or of a Nanken but must sit outside in the path, some forty or fifty yards distant, and wait for permission to go on, extended to him by an attendant, or else take a detour through the woods; then when he walks on he must do so in a stooped posture. This behavior (sákara:l; sákara, to beg of a chief; a:l, path) is sometimes exhibited toward men of lower title but it is not considered obligatory ^{toward them.} In passing a seated chief a commoner must bend low, and in his presence he is expected to sit with his head at a lower level and in a bowed attitude. When leaving he must crawl away for some distance before rising.

When a man met a chief's wife on the path he was formerly obliged to sit down until she passed (but informants deny that he hid himself, as Hambruch asserts).

As recently as 1925 commoners could not talk to a Nanmarki, and to this day many of them do not begin conversation with a man of high title. Commoners take a special tone in talking to chiefs, consisting of drawing out vowel sounds. They should talk only in answer to questions, and make the answers as short as possible. This applies also to men of high title when talking to someone with a still higher title in the same line; only members of the B-line may speak at length to the Nanmarki and only members of the A-line to the Nanken. If a titled man begins a conversation with the usual greeting the commoner averts his gaze and answers with a prolonged "ey" instead of responding with the same greeting as to an equal. When the chief comes to a pause in what he is saying the commoner interjects an "Ah" in agreement. Children of four or five today

already know enough to snatch off their hats, stoop, and give a prolonged greeting when they meet a high chief on the path. It is said of Nanku, a Nanken of Kiti, that he was so powerful that he could go about invisibly; hence people, when they were in section 19 of Kiti, where he lived, would bow continually, thinking he might be somewhere nearby.

A leaflet of red coconut whose rib had been removed was inserted by a commoner under his skirt and when a Nanmarki or Nanken was met or was about to begin a conversation the leaf was taken out, the end torn off, and the rest folded into a sétay, a type of oracle. At the same time a prayer would be mumbled. This was less a form of respect than a method of divining, for so strong was the fear of the rulers that a simple encounter was sufficient to cause a commoner to seek what his fortune would be. But not all people knew how to do this.

A commoner may not eat with a Nanmarki or Nanken; if he eats with any other man of superior rank he must eat slowly, so as not to be sated first. Nor might he finish his drinking coconut first. Any water left in a Nanmarki's coconut may not be drunk by commoners or by the Nanmarki's clansmates, but only by men of high title in the opposite line as far down as Lepéririn (B7 to B9 in different wey); the same rule applies to remnants from his meals. Similarly, no one may finish the Nanken's leavings except men of the Nanmarki's line as far down as Ná:niṭ lápalap (A8 or A9). A commoner could not touch a high chief's gourd or coconut-shell water bottle; today the prohibition applies to glass bottles.

If a man of high rank stops at an inferior's house he must be given a full bottle to drink from; more recently glasses or cups, once proscribed, have been allowed but they must still be full. In the house of a host or in a nas sennit must be tied around the neck of the bottle offered to a Nanmarki and twelve leaves of a sort of citrus (peren) or of Camptosperma brevipetiolata (to:n) are tied to the side; four leaves are used as a stopper. For a Nanken only ten leaves are used. Commoners use all sorts of other leaves as stoppers.

The Nanmarki and Nanken were carried on litters when sick, lame, or numbed by over-indulgence in kava. Smaller title-holders and section kawn and high-titled women were also sometimes carried,* but this was not institutionalized and varied according to individual prestige. The two litter-bearers had to be sons of men of the same clan as the man they were carrying but themselves of the opposite chiefly line. Chiefs were sometimes carried to feasts even when in good health. They were also carried astride the back of a servant.

Not only prestige and power affected the degree to which a chief's subjects acquiesced in his demands for the observation of the external signs of his authority. A kawn of section 1 of Net lived on a high hill but insisted that his people carry him and his family in a canoe from his nas on the hill to the water's edge and back again whenever he traveled somewhere. The men were so eager to act as porters that they would surround the canoe in throngs and many could barely lay a hand to it. But the reason for this enthusiastic

*But informants deny Hambruch's remark (II, 14) concerning carrying of the Nanmarki's wife to her bath.

fealty was that the kawn had several fair and unmarried daughters whose favors were bestowed upon his most obedient subjects.

People could not go to a high title-holder who was a medical practitioner and ask him to come to administer to a sick commoner but had to resort to someone of the commoner class. But a high chief might go to a commoner to be cured if he wished. These distinctions are no longer maintained.

When a Nanmarki or Nanken lies gravely ill people come in great numbers "to eat," and the commoners must furnish food for all of them.

A Nanmarki who visits another Nanmarki is accompanied by a large fleet of canoes. Kaym sápasap, who ruled over the combined wey of Net and Sokas about 1875, used to get followers not only from these two wey but from U and all of Animwan in Matolenim. When Nánawa: en mútok some time after 1870 went out to a Russian man-of-war which was calling him to account for the burning of a church some forty canoes followed him as a gesture of loyalty. In theory each section of a wey sends three or four men to go along with the Nanmarki on a visit to another wey, together with the canoe which is reserved for wey business in each section. Even today when a great chief goes on a visit his attendants and tenants will shortly follow him, to "protect" their lord. On a visit to section 6 in Matolenim, made by the A6 of Kiti in company with the writer, a number of his tenants appeared the second day. This is nowadays as much a function of land ownership as of title-holding; the Nanmarki of Kiti has no large estate and no tenants, and there is no one therefore to perform this service

for him, in spite of his superiority over lesser but wealthier chiefs.

When all five Nanmarkis meet the proper seating arrangement is with the Nanmarki of Matolenim in the position of highest honor, in the center on the main platform of the nas, with the Nanmarkis of Kiti and U sitting somewhat forward of him at forty-five degree angles and to his left and right respectively. This arrangement is said to have been decreed by the S awlik of Ant atoll at the time of the conquest of Ponape by  sokalakal, the first Nanmarki. The Nanmarkis of Net and Sokas, whose positions date from much later, sit to one side.

For commoners travel between wey was always dangerous, but if a man wished to settle in another wey and could get his Nanmarki to send word ahead that he had permission to move the Nanmarki in the other wey might tell his own people to regard the newcomer peacefully.

Such trade as existed was virtually a monopoly of the highest chiefs because of the constant danger in travel. A commoner crossing a boundary was safe only if sent by a high chief. He would carry as a sign of his mission a stalk of sugar cane or a kava plant to the Nanmarki of the wey he was visiting. Men holding titles lower than A4 or B2 could trade only with their relatives in other wey. Despite the risks involved visits between Nanmarkis do not seem to have been rare. Finsch records a case of mutual avoidance between two Nanmarkis when both visited his ship about 1880 but this might only have reflected recent hostilities. But royal visits were always made in considerable force, due to the

precarious state of peace which prevailed between wars. On such occasions (known as séylok) a number of unmarried girls* would be chosen by the Nanken from both chiefly lines and made available for the large number of chiefs and retainers accompanying the visiting Nanmarki, and valuable articles would be presented. On the inevitable reciprocal visit a few days later equivalent gifts were returned. Such articles were the sewed pandanus sleeping mats, the decoratively wrapped balls and cylinders of sennit, canoes, bailers, sponges, woven banana-fiber sashes, chief's skirts, besides the baskets of food always presented at feasts. The assumption as to frequency of visits is in part based on the fact that some balls of sennit which are still in existence are said to have circulated around the island through such means five or more times.

The legendary fall of the line of monarchs which preceded the Nanmarkis is in part attributed to the prayers and sorcery of the X1 of section 21 of Kiti, a powerful priest, who had visited the last of these rulers but had been insulted by receiving only some coconuts instead of the royal gifts he felt he had a right to expect.

The majesty of a high title could be affected by individual variability in personality traits or by status not derived from descent, as a number of biographical incidents indicate. Solomon, who later became Nanmarki of Matolenim, was appointed A2 in Spanish times at the age of

*Such women were called lox en se: ; lox, to raise; se:, to garrison.

thirteen, because he was the last of his sub-clan. At a feast given to him in section 6 he played with other lads, got into a fight and was soundly beaten, and returned to his place on the main platform weeping bitterly. The spectacle of the third chief of the land and the future supreme ruler, sitting in the place of honor, in the shape of a small boy snivelling because of a thrashing, still tickles the risibilities of informants who describe the incident today. The case of the Bl of Net, described previously, who was nearly drowned when his arrogance in demanding tribute and in confiscating land exhausted the patience of his subjects, is another case in point.

Nevertheless deference to a chief was often carried to remarkable lengths. It is told of Nánawa: en mútok, who became Nanken of Kiti about 1860, that his runaway wife, who had eloped with a lover, was brought back to him while he lay in a drunken stupor; when he was awakened he plunged a knife into her breast. Her parents were his servants and were among the witnesses of the murder, yet did not dare to interfere.

A high chief was formerly referred to after his death by a special burial name (stenpwél). During his lifetime his name could not be spoken, and when it was also the name of a common object, or the introduced name of a foreign object, a new term had to be devised to refer to the article; this accounts for some of the dialectic variations which exist in Ponape. Names of many long-departed chiefs are not remembered but they are referred to today by the burial names or sometimes by a title which they held at some time. A Nanken of Kiti who

died about 1860 is not recalled by name even by his own grandson but he is known as Nanku, a title he held in his youth. Usually, however, the burial name is used. This consists of the prefix Lu:kan (Lu:k, the name of a god) followed by a descriptive suffix; for example:

Lu:kanlóŋsi:r (lóŋ, heaven; si:r, the game known in Polynesia as teka, similar to North American snowsnake)

Lu:kansó:pur (so:, negative; pur, return; i.e., died a hero's death in war)

Lu:kanmélamel (mélamel, typhoon)

Lu:kansókaw (sókaw, kava; i.e., drank much kava)

The widow of a chief takes the same suffix, but her prefix is lu:mo. A commoner's burial name is always prefixed by nálan.

The dead child of a Nanmarki or Nanken, but of no other chief, is given a title before burial and the title is considered to be buried with him and may not be given out again until the father has died. This applies even to a stillbirth. In November, 1947, a dead child was born to the wife of Max, Nanmarki of Net; it was given the title of Ná:nsaw of Net, which may not be re-issued until Max is dead.

To announce the death of a Nanmarki tritons were blown in quick, short blasts, similar to those made by a war party; in contrast to this the death of a lesser man was signalled by long blasts, like those sounded by fishermen returning from fishing with a new net. A similar class distinction was made with the playing of the drum, though its exact nature has been forgotten.

Scattered over the island are a large number of

stone burial chambers (lólolox) of variable construction; this is apart from the spectacular structures on the artificial islands off Matolenim. A number of alternate mortuary usages seem to have prevailed simultaneously; thus suspension in canoes, earth burial wrapped in mats, and placing in stone family vaults are all described. But it may be generalized that the stone structures were used primarily for chiefs, and commoners were buried in earth graves. In Wóns, at least, low, cairn-like structures were in use for the Al in combination with secondary burial.

Marriage and Sexual Privileges

In contrast to the prevailing rule of matrilineal residence the sons of men of highest rank, perhaps as far down as A4 and B4, brought their wives home with them. However, if a man married a woman whose father had a title higher than that of his father residence remained matrilineal; and if the two fathers were of equal rank the married children lived for indefinite periods in either household, staying longest with the more prosperous one. In both of these cases if marriage was outside of the wey it was always patrilineal, regardless of the relative rank of the spouses. Hambruch states (II, 148) that around the dwelling house stood the houses of a man's sons, but this would ordinarily be true only for the house of a high chief.

Inheritance was matrilineal, for both commoners and nobles. But some things, such as the community house, were inherited by the successor in office, and other things by the widow. When Francisco, Nanmarki of Sokas, died just prior to the issuance of deeds to land by the Germans and the change to patrilineal inheritance his nas went to Luis, the next Nanmarki, but his dwelling house went to his widow. Houses generally, but not invariably, went to the widow. Canoes were usually divided among a chief's sisters' sons and his own sons, but there was no definite rule as with land and titles, which were always matrilineal. Commoners, except for fishermen, who left their canoes to their sons, had no canoes.

While a Nanmarki or Nanken would often have ten or

more wives, few lesser chiefs or kawn had more than two. An informant past ninety years of age could not remember any polygynous commoners, and some informants deny that a commoner could have plural wives. Kaym sápasap, a Nanmarki of Sokas, had some thirty women in his harem. The first wife married, the i:nanmoŋ ("sitting mother"), was the principal wife; all the others were called pókey. In addition a chief would have sexual access to the female servants, the li:tu. *

Each wife of a chief received a title. (See pp. 61f). The first wife of a Nanmarki was ka:t; the second, ná:nalek; the third, ná:nte. The wives of a Nanken were similarly ná:nkeniyey, ká:rakin, and émekin. Additional terms were used for other wives. Under present monogamous conditions the titles ná:nalek and ná:nkeniyey persist as forms of address for the wives of a Nanmarki and a Nanken respectively. The Lépen net, who was Al of Net until German times when he was granted the title of Nanmarki to conform to the practice in the other wey, gave his principal wife the title of lómpeyn. At least the later Lépen net rulers also had the additional title Sáwlik en ta:wn, and to correspond to this a second wife took the title Ká:tinlik en ta:wn; to his third title, Sówmaŋa:w en á:yrka corresponded that of his third wife, Ká:tinmaŋaw en á:yrka, and for his fourth, Sáwlik en Ays, his fourth wife had the title Ká:tinlik en Ays. These were his four principal titles; if he took more wives additional titles were taken by him specifically for each marriage, and the wife received the feminine cognate thereof.

*One informant denies such access unless the chief was unmarried.

Theoretically, at least, each wife belonged to a different clan in Net, the principal wife belonging always to the opposite chiefly line. This was in order to reinforce the political authority of the Lēpen net, since several clans were thus linked to him and were bound to support and revere him. He also enhanced his economic position, for they were expected to bring him goods; they received gifts in return. The lōmpeyn had to be of clan 9; the ká:tinlik en ta:wn was of clan 6; the clan affiliation of the other wives is not clear.

But elsewhere than Net a chief seems usually to have taken all of his wives from the opposite chiefly line. Hezekiah, B2 of Matolenim in German times, who was one of the last polygynists, had three wives who were sisters, of clan 18. A Lēpen Pálikir had two sisters as wives, belonging to clan 4. Lukankitew, a Nanmarki of Matolenim, had ten wives, all of them in clan 9 and all closely related.

The husband lived in one house, the secondary wives in another close by; it is not clear where the principal wife lived, most Net informants stating that she lived in the house with the husband while the secondary wives lived apart with an old woman to guard them; but Matolenim informants agree that all the wives lived together and apart from the husband. In at least one case (that of Ka:ym Sápasap, a Nanmarki of Sokas) the most recent acquisition of the harem was set up with her servants in a separate house of her own. In any event the principal wife ruled the harem. Her designation as i:nanmot, literally "sitting mother," reveals her status. When her husband was elsewhere she stayed at home and could not go about; the secondary wives might travel with him. She did little work, while the

secondary wives, unless there were enough servants, did such tasks as making skirts, sewing mats, and weaving belts, and sometimes they would cook, fetch wood and water, and clear grass away from the vicinity of the house. Though a high chief had considerable sexual freedom he had to obtain the permission of his principal wife to sleep with one of the other wives, or, according to one informant, to summon any woman for an extra-marital affair. In case the first wife was a commoner such permission does not seem to have been necessary and his sexual freedom was the greater therefore.

A man of high title had the right to any woman he desired (although informants in Net say the right was restricted to the Nanmarki and Nanken, and lesser chiefs could only ask for the girl they wanted). This right was called klásopa; commoners, who did not have the right, were referred to as klápata. It did not matter if she were married or unmarried; her family or husband would be punished if she demurred. The husband could do nothing to prevent the affair; he might receive a present from the chief, but this was not obligatory. A Nanmarki would simply send his attendants to fetch the woman. She would be kept at the pleasure of the chief, and would be expected to massage and delouse him, pluck gray hairs from his head, and sleep with him. She was not anointed as in the case of a regular marriage unless he intended to add her to his harem. A Nanmarki up to the time of Paul of Kiti could take a woman of his own clan, even a parallel cousin, and none could say him nay, whereas in the case of a commoner incest meant death. Moreover, there could be no joking at or ridicule of such behavior. This royal

prerogative is ancient, for the Sawtelewr line which preceded the Nanmarkis are said to have sent their chief lieutenant, Sowkämpul, to bring them wives of other men.

The perpetrator of a rape would be scolded by the highest chiefs because it was their prerogative alone to force women to lie with them against their will.

A woman of somewhat higher rank than her legal husband had sexual privileges similar to those of the high chiefs and could summon any man she liked to come and be her lover. The sister of a Nanmarki who was married to B3 or lower, and the sister of a Nanken married to A5 or lower, could avail themselves of this right to take lovers indiscriminately; but faithfulness was required of a woman whose husband was of equal or higher rank. The class or clan or marital status of the lover was of no consequence, and his tenure as paramour of the woman was entirely dependent on her whim. She would usually notify the wife of the man who had taken her fancy to perfume and bedeck him and then to send him along to her. The amount of sexual freedom permitted to a woman seems to have varied roughly inversely to the rank of her husband.

A man married to a woman of higher rank than his would be "thrown away" if he were unfaithful, but unlike the case of an unfaithful wife of lower rank, he was not punished.

The use of "higher rank" in this connection should not obscure the previously noted fact that the husband of lower rank than his wife received a title "for" her; he was called by the title which she had, or by one which had been held in reserve for her future husband, but his acquisition of the title through marriage did not raise his rank to the level of hers.

Bascom states that royal and noble men and women married to commoners did not have to observe the forms of courtesy ordinarily due to high chiefs, but the writer's informants deny this. Only seri:so have the right to such behavior, regardless of the status of their spouses.

The adulterous wife of a Nanmarki or Nanken was, in theory at least, put to death, along with her lover. The case of the Bl of Kiti, who put his own runaway wife to death, has been related; her lover had already been slain by the wronged husband's attendants. Nevertheless the fact that a chief's secondary wives lived in a house separate from his tempted many a young man to take the risks involved, and it is said that few members of the harem remained chaste.

A man of lower status who was cuckolded could kill his wife only if he thought he could get away with it, for he had to think about revenge by her relatives; usually he had to be satisfied with torturing or otherwise punishing her; but he would make an attempt to kill her seducer.

Ordinarily it was the Nanmarki who had the unfaithful wife of a Nanken killed, and the latter took upon himself the reciprocal duty for the Nanmarki; they would delegate the actual execution to a lesser chief of their own lines. Hambruch (p.56) says that it was the clan of the woman who took revenge for a seduction, but present informants insist it was the clan of the husband; and, contrary to Hambruch, the seducer did not escape personal retribution, but suffered along with his brothers and clan chief.

A high chief could forbid a pretty young girl to marry, but might take her into his house to be raised by his principal

wife until she was thirteen or fourteen, then he would make a secondary wife of her. There were even cases of kidnaping.

Widows and divorced wives of high chiefs were called roq* en sowpéyti or koron en sowpéyti, by which term is understood a prohibition to remarry. Hambruch, Finsch, and Kubary state that this prohibition was absolute. However, the prohibition actually applied only to someone outside the clan of her dead husband. The brother or sister's son or a more remote clansmate of a dead Nanmarki could take her as his wife, the brother having first choice, regardless of his previous marital status; in fact it was considered better to marry the widow than to require her to remain unmarried, lest she carry on a liaison with a commoner. A commoner, however, could practice the levirate only if he did not already have a wife. Usually only old widows were left as roq. If a member of another clan took the widow he was, within the memory of living informants, beaten up or cut with knives, then banished; more anciently, he might be killed. The prohibition was rigidly enforced by the brothers, sister's sons, and successor in office of the dead man, for the widow was considered to be property ~~of~~ their sub-clan.

Widows of the three highest chiefs of each line were considered to be roq, and also lesser titles if they belonged to the same sub-clan as the Nanmarki or Nanken. Even commoners, if they were brave warriors, could pronounce that a brother's widow remain unmarried, but the command would not be respected if they were weak men.

Sometimes the prohibition was circumvented by a suitor

*The primary meaning of this word is "to hear," and apparently is used here figuratively, for no scandal was supposed to be heard about such a woman.

of the widow by payment of such property as balls of sennit, sleeping mats, and other valuables, and giving a feast to the clansmates of the dead man.

Some informants state that secondary wives were not considered as ron, unlike the principal wife; but a secondary wife who was dearly loved by her husband, who was always taken about with him on voyages and to feasts, would also be held as ron and prohibited from remarrying after his death. This view is probably correct, since a number of cases were recorded of the remarriage of secondary wives to men of clans other than that of the first husband.

Sexual activity with a ron had to be carried on very secretly; if discovered the chief of her dead husband's sub-clan would burn down the man's house and chop down his bananas, kava, and other plants. But the widow herself would not be punished, except that her brother or mother's brother would scold her.

A commoner's widow (li: ówti) was free to marry as she pleased and was equally free to engage in amorous adventures. It was considered best for a prospective husband to obtain permission to marry her from the sub-clan of the dead man, but it was not always done, and is not done at all today.

Ron has persisted to some extent to present times. The widow of the Nanmarki Francisco of Sokas remained unmarried until her death; the widows of Luis, Nanmarki of Sokas, of Solomon, Nanmarki of Kiti, and of Solomon, Nanmarki of Matolenim, remain unmarried till today. The principal widow of the last Lépen Ne; remarried his clansmate and classificatory

brother, Saturlino, who later became Nanmarki; the widow of the previous Nanmarki of U has remarried the present Nanmarki, Edmundo.

Informants say that probably no punishment would be inflicted today on a man who married a ron but a feast of propitiation would have to be made by the new husband to the chiefs Al-Al₄ and B1 if she were a Nanmarki's widow, to B1-B₄ and A1 if she were a Nanken's widow. No actual case is known of a widow who has remarried out of her husband's clan, but the divorced wife of the present Nanmarki of Matolenim, who is also ron by definition, has so remarried without any payments or atonement being exacted.

The widow and children had to pack up all their belongings at once on the death of the husband and steal off to her family that same night, or the people would come and despoil them of everything they had. This custom is said to have been because when she was powerful, as the wife of a great chief, they might be jealous but could do nothing against her, but now that she was fallen they could give vent to their spite.

PRESTIGE COMPETITION

Competition for titles

We have until now spoken as though promotions and succession in the title hierarchy were regulated mainly by the principle of clan seniority; we have discussed the exceptions to this principle and described how a man might through unusual merit, warlike deeds, or an advantageous marriage overcome the handicaps of birth and achieve a high position regardless of commoner status. But there remains a large gap in this presentation. The royal and noble clans tend to monopolize the higher wey titles, so much so that we have used the term A-clan to indicate the royal clan which holds the highest A-titles and the term B-clan for the noble clan which holds the highest B-titles. Only an occasional commoner receives a title in the first twelve of each series. But there are many more than twelve titles. In Net, which has a total male population of some 450, a list of 210 wey titles was collected, and there are undoubtedly more. Eliminating boys and young men this means that the vast majority of mature men possess wey titles, and that among them are most of the commoners. Informants state that formerly there were fewer wey titles and that new ones have been invented and issued in order that the chiefs might profit by the title-payment feasts; most commoners formerly had only section titles. Nevertheless there was always a significant number of commoners who achieved titles in the two wey series; and here the principle of clan seniority could not operate, for the commoner clans, though some are held to be worthier than others, have no title series which are

considered to belong exclusively to them. Though a commoner would normally have a higher title than another man junior to him in the same clan he has no particular status relative to a man in another commoner clan, except with reference to the title each of them holds. The status of a man of high title is for the most part ascribed, for with the exceptions already noted it comes to him in the main through birth. But the status of a holder of one of the lesser titles is largely achieved, for he gains his title through certain types of activities, in competition for prestige with his fellow commoners. It is through such competition that merit for promotion is judged--the judges being the Nanken (for wey titles) and the kawn (for section titles) primarily.

Prestige competition between individuals is expressed principally through food offerings to the chiefs. It is never a competition between any two persons but always takes the form of each man competing for favor with all his peers. This type of competition is úpanɛ, and is to be distinguished from the sálapanɛ, which is a direct competition between two individuals, two groups of relatives, or two groups of co-residents, and is not directly concerned with personal ambition for advancement but with outdoing a rival in order to avenge a slight or upon order of a chief. In the sálapanɛ type of competition the winner undoubtedly wins favor in the eyes of the chiefs and thereby facilitates his rise, but this is not the overt object of it.

Promotions come through bringing to feasts for presentation to chiefs larger and better and more frequent food offerings than other men and thus demonstrating industry,

ability, loyalty, and affection toward the chiefs. More important than presentations at feasts are the direct offerings of first fruits (nó:pwey) and occasional gifts of food between first fruits (úmwankáyak or káyak). All of these types of presentations are known as u:pa (to stand underneath). Perhaps even more important than these regular offerings is the bringing of a valuable article, such as a large pit, ^{breadfruit} to the Nanmarki when a visitor comes from another wey and the Nanmarki wishes to make some display at a feast in the visitor's honor. All of these acts are stored in the memories of the chiefs (and in Net recorded in writing) and duly rewarded when vacant titles arise.

A man who has a wey title may make u:pa direct to the Nanmarki and Nanken and thus gain prestige. A man who has only a section title, unless it is that of the kawn of the section, cannot do this; but he can present articles to the kawn or to any man with a wey title whom he sees lacks enough goods to offer to the Nanmarki or Nanken at the time of a feast; the recipient then presents the goods as his own but in the course of the feast praises his benefactor to the Nanmarki or Nanken. The kawn also reports to the Nanmarki and Nanken which of his subjects are performing best at u:pa.

Service of all sorts for the Nanmarki, including the forms of u:pa, communal labor, proper observance of obedience, etiquette, and deference, but not including warfare, is called táwlap ("big work"). All of these things are the due of the Nanmarki; initiative theory promotions are earned not so much for gifts to the Nanmarki as for looking after the property

of the wey; all valuables--large yams, large kava bushes, fine mats, etc.--belong to the Nanmarki, and offerings made on specified and other occasions are not presents but merely delivering up, when called upon, what is rightfully the Nanmarki's. In the same way all the land belonged ultimately to the Nanmarki. Fighting in wartime for the Nanmarki was táwtik. Both táwlap and táwtik ("little work") were considered in making decisions about promotions, and both counted in the individual prestige competition. Táwlap was considered as daily work and easy, táwtik as short and hard. Some informants say that táwlap counted most in Kiti while táwtik was more important in Matolenim, but others assert that táwtik counted most everywhere. Táwtik, in any case, gave the more spectacular results, since instances occurred where a successful war-leader returned from battle and dethroned the Nanmarki or Nanken, taking the office himself. A man could jump from a low title to as high as A5* or B3 by valiant deeds, if a commoner; or up to A2 or B2 if he belonged to the proper clan. One informant includes under táwtik the return by chiefs of food-offerings through re-distribution at feasts, but several others deny this. Such return is more properly kápan konot. Konot is the special honorific for food applied to the Nanmarki and some other chiefs, but it is also extended to such acts of generosity by the Nanmarki as giving out of titles, land, or anything else, including a daughter to a noble husband, in return for u:pa.

*A3 according to another informant.

The war pattern has already been discussed. It remains to discuss táwlap as expressed through first fruits, feasts, etc.

First Fruits

Offerings to chiefs, apart from those made at the regular feasts, are called nó:pwey. This is roughly equivalent to first-fruits; actually some of them are given more than once, so only the first nó:pwey for each type of food which is offered is properly first-fruits; this nó:pwey is called mwo:n tipwisów. Thus of the several nó:pwey for breadfruit only the first is a mwo:n tipwisów. Once the offering of a food is made the commoners themselves are free to partake of any variety of that food.

In general nó:pwey are offerable to the Nanmarki, Nanken, and to the section kawn, and unless otherwise indicated the term "chief," as used in the descriptions of nó:pwey to follow, applies to each of these three. But if a man of higher title than the kawn lives in a particular section it is he who has the right to receive the nó:pwey, and the kawn is sometimes omitted; hence people who live in the same section as the Nanmarki or Nanken need offer only two nó:pwey for a particular product, one to the Nanmarki and one to the Nanken, and need not offer a third to the kawn as other people must do.

The practice seems generally to have been that only the sections belonging to the Nanmarki gave nó:pwey to him, and only those belonging to the Nanken gave to him; but this was not always adhered to. The German deeds which gave the land to individual owners authorized the giving of an honor-feast annually to the Nanmarki and failed to mention the Nanken and have thus affected

the pattern of food-offering. In Net today, for example, both Nanmarki and Nanken receive nó:pwey from those who hold to the old customs regardless of where they live. Also the wey was often divided into political subdivisions larger than sections, and the chiefs who headed these were also involved in food offerings.

Nowadays large landholders, such as chief Aó of Kiti, receive nó:pwey regularly from their tenants, while the Nanmarki and Nanken of Kiti, having only a small amount of land of their own, receive nó:pwey only in times of plenty.

The formal offerings to the Nanmarki and Nanken are by the kawn, although actually all household heads participate since they contribute to the kawn for the purpose. To the kawn the household heads make nó:pwey directly.

Anciently failure to present nó:pwey resulted in loss of title and land, as well as banishment, but today there is no compulsion. But it was acceptable for a man who had nothing of a particular food to offer to present another food as a symbolic substitute. Those who hold to the old customs still offer some of the nó:pwey, particularly kémey, lili, i:tít, and kôtska:p; but others of the nó:pwey have fallen into complete desuetude. Nowadays on the average only two or three men in a section adhere to the practice. One semi-accultured informant, who used to offer nó:pwey but has given it up, argues that his title is a low one, hence he gets little back from the chiefs in the distribution of yams at feasts, and looks upon contributions to the chiefs as an economic loss to him; this attitude is to be directly linked with the money economy which has been introduced into Ponape since the whaling days. Another man states that his mother bought the

land he has now, he did not get it in fief from the chief in the manner practiced before the issuance of the deeds in German times, hence he feels no compulsion to pay in kind for the use of the land.

The nó:pwey are to be distinguished from the kámatip in that they are simple presentations of food whereas the latter are feasts. Where cooking is involved the objects offered as nó:pwey are usually prepared in the wónu:m, the private cook-house, and presented to the chief generally at his house; while feasts are held and the food for them is cooked in the nas, the community house.

The nó:pwey are as follows:

Yams (ka:p):

1. kótska:p (kóts, to cut; ka:p, yam). This is the first nó:pwey of the yam season (i:sol). The vines are cut from the unripe yam, which is then baked in the wónu:m by each man offering it. The whole yam must be brought, undivided. Any kind of yam will do except "southern yams" (ka:pnayr). Commoners present what they can afford; a kawn presents to the Nanmarki and Nanken a definite number, which varies from one wey to another; in Net it is always five. This nó:pwey comes in October.

2. i:fi:p (to grate). When the yams are mature two or three are dug up, skinned, and grated on a piece of tin (formerly on a rough stone found in salt water), then mixed with coconut cream. For private consumption the grated yam is then tied up into a leaf of Cyrtosperma (mwa:n) and baked in the wónu:m; the food is then called kó:ru:k (bundle). For presentation to the chief it is baked in a banana leaf, when it is called

raysuk. A basketful of i:tɪ:t is presented; commoners may present a small basketful, but a kawn presents one of three sizes of baskets, containing (in Net) five, eight, or eleven baked loaves of i:tɪ:t, or sometimes instead of the kɪ:am basket (made of a section of a coconut leaf) he presents a whole páyni (made of an entire coconut leaf) full. Sometimes i:tɪ:t is made of Cyrtosperma, bananas (of any kind except utuni:yap or karat), arrowroot, or manioc; or bananas may be mixed with manioc or yams, when it is called roperap. This nó:pwey comes in December.

3. tewli:maw (tew, to fill; li:maw, five). This is also grated yams, but it is baked in the wonu:m, wrapped in Cyrtosperma leaves, always in five loaves, and carried to the chief in a long basket on a pole by two bearers. Done by whomsoever could afford it, in February.

Breadfruit (ma:y or mey):

Breadfruit nó:pwey collectively are called kari:mey or mwo:n mey.

1. karisimey (karis, to pluck off; mey, breadfruit). Green breadfruit is picked with the stem and leaves attached, baked in the wonu:m, and taken to the chief. This has not been observed for about fifteen years in Net. Occurs in early May.*

2. kamey (ka, to bite or chew?). A type of breadfruit containing seeds (meyko:l) is used. Baked in the wonu:m. May, June, and July.

3. mwo:nmey (mwo:n, first). Mature breadfruit baked and taken to the chief. Late May through July.

*Hambruch & Eilers (II, 227) record one in April, but consider it as a kamatip, not a nó:pwey.

4. Lili or mwo:lili. This is the greatest breadfruit nó:pwey. An entire section brings great quantities of breadfruit to the nas, where the Nanmarki is in attendance, and the fruit is there baked and pounded, and coconut cream squeezed over it. This nó:pwey partakes also of the nature of a kamatip, since it involves also pigs and kava. In July and occasionally later. (See further remarks on lili below).

5. u:m en payni or tokapayni, names used in Net; probably same as tokamey in Kiti (u:m, stone oven; tok, to spear or punch a hole; payni, the whole coconut leaf). A hole is punched in the eye of the breadfruit, water and sometimes an a:pwit (Macaranga kanahitaz) leaf put in the hole, and the fruit left overnight to ripen artificially. Then it is baked in the wonu:m or occasionally in the nas. A long basket is made from the whole coconut leaf and some thirty to fifty baked breadfruit carried to the chief at his house. Not done by a section but by every man who is rich enough. Occurs in July and August.

6. u:m en i:nin (u:m, stone oven; i:nin, to roast on a fire). Until this nó:pwey is made breadfruit must always be baked in the u:m, as they are on this occasion too, but after this they may be roasted over an open fire. The breadfruit are prepared in the nas in the presence of the chief.

7. soq en ma:r or soq ma:r, names used in Net; same as pokolú:pon in Kiti (soq, to taste; ma:r, pit breadfruit; poko, to roll into a ball; lú:pon, a ball of baked pit breadfruit). Done individually; each man bakes some fresh bread-

fruit together with pit breadfruit in his wonu:m and takes a small basketful to the chief. August and September.

8. sakalap (sak, to eat; lap, much, big). Breadfruit artificially ripened as in u:m en payni (no:pwey 5. above), then baked in the wonu:m and carried to the chief in a basket made from the whole coconut leaf. September.

9. u:m en lúwa'n mey (lúwa, remainder). This is made from the last breadfruit; a whole section bakes the fruit in an u:m in the nas with the chief in attendance and with pigs and kava simultaneously prepared (according to Net informants) or in the wonu:m (according to Kiti informants). September or October.

A Matolenim informant gives also mwo:ntelemen as a nó:pwey, when a food called telsmey is offered. This is made from artificially ripened breadfruit which is pounded, heated with hot stones, and added to coconut cream squeezed into a wooden vessel. Other informants do not consider telsmey to be a nó:pwey offering but agree that it is presented to chiefs. The information about sakalap (nó:pwey 8. above) comes from a single Kiti informant. Some informants also list kayák as a nó:pwey, but others state that it is merely an occasional gift between the various nó:pwey and consists of the best portions from food of all sorts prepared at family ovens as part of regular family meals.

Kava (sokaw):

1. wisik pwel (wisik, to carry; pwel, earth). The first kava bush dug from a new kava garden is brought to the chief.

2. sa:rpa:'n sokaw (sa:r, to remove; pa:'n, under).

After the kava has grown high the lower parts are trimmed off and brought to the chief.

Bananas (u:t). The nó:pwey is called mwo:n u:t. Offered to chiefs at breadfruit season. A Matolenim informant says only maṇat bananas are offerable; a Net informant says utuni:yap and karat are offered; another Net informant says that all three of these, the only types of bananas which ought to be baked in an u:m, are traditionally offerable, but that nowadays the first of every sort of banana from a new garden should be offered.* When bananas are for use by commoners the stalk is cut off close to the top of the bunch, but for a chief it is cut close to the tree in order to produce a long stalk with two young leaves attached.

Pineapple. The nó:pwey, which began in German times, is called mwo:n paynapal; pineapples are not native. It comes in the breadfruit season. The stems and leaves must be left attached. The largest fruit are packed five to a basket and brought to the chief.

Mango (káṇiṭ). The nó:pwey is mwo:n káṇiṭ; it comes in breadfruit season. The fruit are laid, along with separated leaves and branches, in the long coconut leaf basket (payni) and carried by two men with a carrying-pole to the chief; the basket holds several hundred fruit. Two varieties of mango may be used, káṇiṭ en po:npey and káṇiṭ en saloṇ, also

*Offerable types of maṇat are maṇat proper, maṇat en alo:kap, spo:n, i:pali en po:npey, i:pali en Saipan; types of utuni:yap offerable are utuni:yap and utumwas; karat types are karat proper, karat ko:lo, and karat en pa:lil. Other than these three, which are considered native and baked in the u:m, the numerous imported varieties are prepared an aynpot (from English, iron pot), a non-native practice.

the sports developed from each of these in recent times, kiyewek en Kanit en po:npey and kiyewek en kanit en saloq. Durian may not be offered.

Pandanus (kpa:r or tayp). The nó:pwey is mwo:n tayp and comes in the breadfruit season. It is presented uncooked. As with bananas a long stem and two leaves are left attached, but unlike bananas it is offered in a basket. All types are offerable, but pandanus is rarely offered except in Matolenim.

Sugar cane (sew). The nó:pwey is mwo:n sew. Presented at any time, whenever of sufficient size. The leaves may not be removed; this is true for all three purposes for which sugar cane is presented to a chief: nó:pwey, to:m (begging pardon for an offense), and luk (invitation to a feast). All six varieties of sugar cane are offerable as well as sew a:lek, a similar plant, but no one of these is offerable by itself.

Polynesian chestnut, Inocarpus edulis (mórop). Offerable only underneath a basketful of pit breadfruit or of ka:p palay, a sweet yam.

Taro (sawa). Only the varieties pa:maru, pa:n nta, and keywatik may properly be offered chiefs, though ku:wet has also been recorded.

Dioscorea bulbifera* (palay). A wild yam. The no:pwey is mwo:n palay and is made in December. The yams are baked in an u:m one night, then skinned with the fingernails and brought in a coconut leaf basket to a brook and placed on a flat tray (called a pwa:t en palay) one to three feet square, made of Saccharum spontaneum (á:lek) leaves; the sides are built up of a sort of fern (márek) which is not woven into

*Identification according to Bascom.

the tray but worked up around its edges. A supply of running water is fed into the tray from the brook by means of a flume constructed of overlapping half-cylinders from the concentric layers of banana tree trunks (Net informant) or bamboo (Matolenim informant). The palay is kneaded with the hands and after the bitter quality leaches out the fern is removed and the tray placed with its contents (now called kátapw) into a coconut leaf basket and presented to the chief as nó:pwey; in this condition it is described as ice-cold and is a rare and great delicacy nowadays. It may be baked again after leaching.

On the main platform of the nas there are made five places, each consisting of ten breadfruit leaves and two leaves of Camposperma brevipetiolata (to:n). Four of these places form the corners of a square, the fifth is in the center of it. Two spoons are made by slicing chords through the husk of a young coconut and the sow ne (the official in charge of food distribution at any feast) uses these to scoop out a portion of the kátapw from the center of the tray, which he places on the central leaf platter. The second scoop is taken from the lower right corner and placed on the corresponding leaves; then the lower left, upper right, and upper left corners are similarly treated in that order. These five scoops are presented to the chief who retains only the central one, the others being further distributed to the highest men of title present. The remainder of the kátapw is scooped up according to no particular plan and distributed among the rest of the people, whose leaf-platters contain

no particular number of leaves. The ritual of division corresponds closely to that of a dog or turtle.

In the old days kátapw was prepared by women on order of the high chiefs. Nowadays it is primarily prepared for invalids and is offered as nó:pwey only when there is enough left over. It is considered difficult and time-consuming to make; the tray alone requires considerable labor. Formerly it was often a substitute for i:tí:t.

Lili

The making of lili is sufficiently important to merit its description at length. This dish consists of baked and pounded breadfruit covered with coconut cream. Lili is offered as one of the principal nó:pwey to the Nanmarki by the people of each kówsap; sometimes it is also made for the Nanken; then it is made for the head of each kówsap, after which anyone can eat it. It is made perhaps five or ten times yearly. Besides breadfruit (lili may) it can also be made of banana (lili ut) or taro (lili sáwa). * Sometimes bananas and breadfruit, or bananas and taro are mixed (lili róptrop).

The following account is based in large part on a lili preparation arranged for the observation of the writer by the Nállaym of Net and given to the Nanken of Net in December, 1947:

A wood fire is made and stones heaped over it to make a roughly square oven with vertical walls instead of the dome-shaped stone oven made for other occasions. Whole breadfruit are piled on top of the hot stones and no covering leaves added, whereas in the ordinary stone oven the coals are raked out, the hot stones built up again, and halved breadfruit piled on the stones with leaves over them; the result is that breadfruit in an ordinary stone oven are baked in a steamy atmosphere, but for lili they bake in the open, being turned

*Bascom (p.76) also includes *Cyrtosperma* (lili mwa:n) but the writer's informants say that only Pingelap, Ngatik, and Mokil people make this dish.



A. The lili oven.



B. Peeling the baked breadfruit.

Plate IV

over several times in the process, and the skin becomes charred. This charred surface is peeled away by two men (designated as sow'n rar); they use a flat, oblong piece of hibiscus wood (mey'n rar) to pry off the char, holding the hot fruit with a half coconut shell. The hot breadfruit are then carried to the sow'n li, * who pounds them on a flat stone (péytel, the same type of stone used for pounding kava) with a wooden pounder of Morinda citrifolia (wéypul) called pey'n rar. A pounder of white coral, tákay may, is said to be preferred to wéypul. The stone has been previously cleaned by pounding a coconut husk on it and then washing with water. Close to the sow'n li is a bucket or wooden vessel (kásak) of water into which he dips his hand so that he can remove the hot core and seeds; he also wets the striking surface of the pounder with his hand to prevent the breadfruit from sticking. He must work very fast, since the lili is supposed to be still too hot to eat when it is finished. A girl or boy sits near him and fans him, so that he does not sweat. He prepares four breadfruit at one time, and the resulting loaf-shaped mass is put on a banana leaf which has been previously seared in the fire to water-proof it; this is placed on top of another similarly treated banana leaf and then laid in a type of coconut-leaf basket (ílayl) which is carried to the Sow'n Piya**. The man who carries it holds

*This person is always a man on Ponape, but Ponapean informants say that on Truk and the Mortlocks a woman may officiate.

**From piyáya, to squeeze out coconut cream; not used for straining kava or any other plant.



A. Pounding the baked breadfruit.



B. The finished lili.

the basket in both arms, with its stemward end (as determined by the direction of growth of the leaflets) and the banana stems to his left.

A Matolenim informant says two or three breadfruit are prepared per leaf, sometimes five for a large one. A Kiti informant says that four are used, but for the Nanmarki and Nanken only four halves are used to make one lili loaf, the other halves being put aside for the commoners.

The sow'n piya has meanwhile been grating coconut meat and has a heap of it piled in front of him on a banana leaf. He now piles some of it on a mass of young coconut * husk fiber (pesénman) which he twists to squeeze out the coconut cream over the loaf of lili which is held up before him.

Both sow'n li and sow'n piya wear a head-band of two coconut leaflets with the ends twisted together and turned up over the ears (a sétey; this is also used for divining and for what Hambruch calls "Botschaft" leaves). The sow'n li must be bare to the waist. He sits on two banana leaves and holds another in his lap so that his skirt and the hair on his stomach do not show to the women present. Neither he nor the sow'n piya may speak, laugh, or cough during their work, lest a fleck of spittle fall on the food they are preparing. There is no calling out nor notification that the lili is ready, since quiet should be maintained.

*On the occasion witnessed by the writer; but some informants say it should be hibiscus bast.

A. The sow'n li making
a sápwikin leaf cup. He
wears a setey on his
head.



B. A neyrar.

Four lili are prepared, one apiece for the Nanmarki and Nanken and their respective wives, before whom they are laid with the stems of the banana leaves and the stemward end of the basket which holds each loaf to their left. In Matolenim six lili are prepared, as described below. Additional lili is prepared unceremonially for the sow'n li, sow'n piya, and sow'n rar to partake of after the chiefs have eaten.

Before the coconuts can be grated the water from them is put into a cup ^(pútamey) made of an Alocasia macrorrhiza (sápwiki) leaf. The cup is made by sewing up the leaf around its edges with the rib of a coconut leaflet; it is brought to the Nanmarki, on the main platform of the community house in the ilayl basket.*

To the Nanmarki's wife, or to any other of the Soupeiti who does not like coconut cream and therefore abstains from lili, is carried a méyrrar; this consists of an ilayl basket containing one baked and peeled but not pounded breadfruit, the two halves of a ripe coconut, a mey'n rar for peeling and coring the breadfruit, and a mey'n pok, which is a piece of coconut husk shaped somewhat club-like and used to tap and soften the breadfruit; this is presented, like the other ilayl, with the stem end to the left.

The ilayl baskets are made, during the baking of the breadfruit, by the high chiefs and the visitors on the main platform of the community house. A whole coconut branch is

*The sketches in Hambruch, Abb. 158, p. 372, are of an ilayl and a pútamey from Matolenim; both are made somewhat differently from the Net specimens.

brought by a man of lower title to the chiefs and split in half down the main rib; in Net nineteen leaves are counted from the base of the branch, counting the first three as number one, then each succeeding pair as a unit, so that the actual count in numbers is only nine; the section is then lopped off the branch and another nineteen leaflets counted and cut, and so on, each section being given to a titled man to weave. In Net there are said to be six types of ílayl; among these are pwat en kóle, órolap, úluq en nánputak, and péywor. Ílayl are made differently in each wey and on Ant atoll. They are made only for lili, and differ from the ordinary coconut-leaf general utility basket (kíyam) in that the latter is made from the full width of the branch while for ílayl the branch is split in two down the main rib.

In Kiti informants give as the types of ílayl:

1. ílayl en sowpéyti, for the Nanmarki and Nanken.

Two leaves remain inside the basket, unplaited; if the lili is to be carried home these two are tied together, the purpose being to hold the basket tightly together and prevent the coconut cream from flowing away. For only this type of ílayl the two banana leaves in which the lili is put must be cut from the tree at the point where the stalk of the leaf joins the trunk, while for the other types it is cut where the stalk merges into the leaf. Also, the leaf is pushed back up the central rib one hand's breadth by running the hand up

A.



B.



C.



Three types of ilayl: pwat en kóle, (A); órolap (B); and paywor (C).

the stalk against the leaf.

2. flayl en likent, for the wives of the Nanmarki and Nanken. This is made in the same way as the previous type, but the banana leaves have no stalk attached, nor is the flesh torn back.

3. flayl en sow'n li, for the sow'n li. On the underside of the basket are four unplaited leaves, two on each side; each pair is tied in a knot, which prevents the flayl from slipping when the sow'n li eats lili, for he eats it with his hands, whereas the Nanmarki and Nanken and their wives use spoons of coconut husk made by cutting a section through the outer husk on the plane of a chord.

4. flayl en sow'n piya for the sow'n piya. Three pairs of leaves are left unplaited on the upper side of the basket, one at each end and one in the middle. Each time he squeezes coconut cream he wipes his hands on one leaf, then tears it off and discards it. Six leaves are required, since there are six lili made in Matolenim for ceremonial presentation prior to general eating of lili: one for the Nanmarki and Nanken; one for their wives; one for the Wásay (A2), Tawk (A3), and Nállaym(B2); one for their wives; one for the other high chiefs present; and one for their wives.

5. flayl en sow'n rar, for the sow'n rar. One end of the basket is rounded, one end left pointed with the ends of the leaves not tied together as with other flayl; this end is used to clean off the mey'n rar, which the sow'n rar then uses to eat his lili with.

Other First Fruits

Tobacco, beans, manioc, mwa:h (Cyrtosperma), cucumbers, corn, sweet potatoes, watermelons, and onions have occasionally been presented as first fruits; onions were recorded only once, in section 23 of Net. All of these except mwa:h are introduced species. They are offered only from new fields, as with kóteka:p.

A number of animals are also offered to chiefs. The nó:pwey for a turtle is called mwo:n par; both common species of turtle are offered, the hawksbill (sá:pwa:ke) and the green turtle (kála:p); a rare form (malipur) is also considered to be a chiefly gift. A coconut-eating crab, omp, which occurs on the sandy islets off Matolenim, is similarly offered. Fish which are presented to chiefs are simply given as their due and are not considered as nó:pwey; large specimens of mwá:hər (giant grouper), tap, mawt, and lá:pwit (sea eel) are occasionally presented nowadays; mérər are supposed to be always brought; kameyk (a wrasse) are brought on the occasion of a laytkap (see Section entitled "Other Feasts" below) when the ú:kalap type of seine is used, but not on later occasions. But none of these are properly nó:pwey.

Ceremonial Presentation of Fish

Certain fish which are offered to high chiefs to be eaten raw are presented with slits made in them according to special patterns, which differ according to the species of fish and from wey to wey. Cooked fish are

not slit; but when baked for presentation to a high chief the fins and tail are left out of the fire so that these portions will not fall off, otherwise they are not considered fit for presentation.

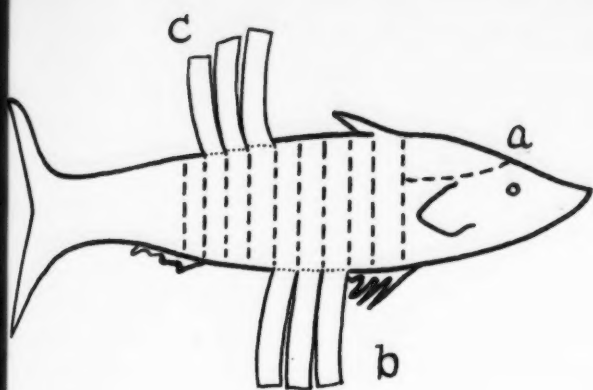
In Net there are seven methods of slitting fish, each applied to a number of species of fish (see figures on accompanying plate):*

1. Four slits made latitudinally on each side, evenly spaced between the base of the tail and a point close to the gills. Then the fish is presented whole. Species: mwáney, pákas.

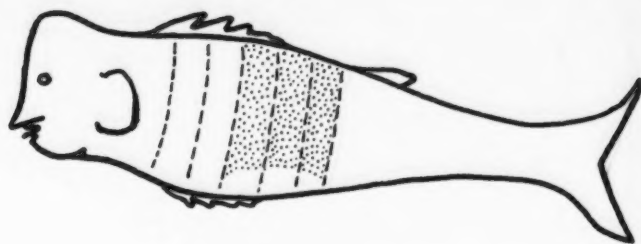
2. Head cut off, and ten latitudinal slits are made on each side evenly spaced from the base of the pectoral fin to the anal fin; then a longitudinal slit (a) is made above the gills, connecting with the first latitudinal slit at a point near its upper end and curving upward and forward to meet the equivalent slit on the other side. For presentation to high chief the three slices between the third and sixth slits are freed at their dorsal ends and laid back downwards on each side, (b), the three slices between the sixth and ninth slits are similarly laid upwards. (c). The twelve slices thus produced, counting both sides of the fish, are for the delectation of the high chiefs, the rest of the fish is for commoners. Species: groy (Caranx sp.) (Figure 1).

3. Six latitudinal slits are made on each side, the first at the base of the pectoral fin, the sixth about half way to the tail. The three slices between the third and sixth slits

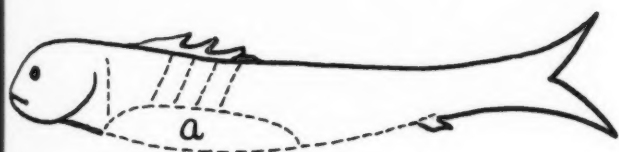
*The spellings used in the text, where they differ from those on the plate, are to be taken as correct.



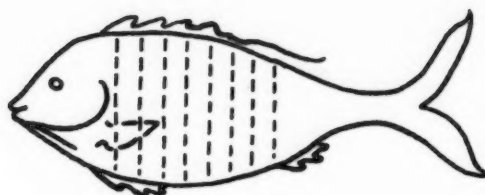
ARONG
FIGURE 1



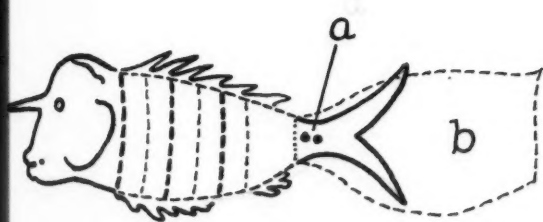
KAMEIK
FIGURE 2



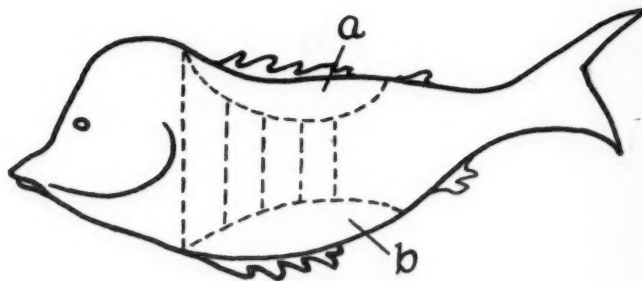
A
FIGURE 3



KIOK
FIGURE 4



PULAK
FIGURE 5



MERER
FIGURE 6

(shown shaded in the sketch) are removed entirely from each side, save for the most ventral portions, and presented to the high chiefs; the rest of the fish is for the commoners.

Species: Kameyk (Figure 2).

4. The fish is first scaled; then one latitudinal slit is made at the base of the pectoral fin; from the ventral end of this slit another slit ~~curves~~ curves upward and posteriorly, then runs laterally along the flank and curves back down again to a point about midway along the length of the fish(a). Also from the ventral end of the first slit the belly is slit all the way to the anal fin. Four more parallel slits are made from the base of the first dorsal fin and running down the flank, somewhat diagonally forward, until they meet the slit which runs laterally along the flank. These slits are duplicated on the other side, and the fish is presented whole to high chiefs. Species: a: (a mullet) (figure 3).

5. Eight parallel latitudinal slits are made on both sides, from the base of the pectoral fin to a point near the pre-caudal constriction. Presented whole to high chiefs: Species: H:ok, kerker. (figure 4).

6. Two spines (a) on each side near the base of the tail are cut off, also ventral and dorsal fins. Then the skin from the gill slits to the pre-caudal constriction is laid back inside out on both sides over the tail. (as labelled b). Six parallel latitudinal slits are made, the first at the base of the pectoral fin, the last prior to the anal fin; the first, third, and fifth of these are cut through to the bone, the

second, fourth, and sixth only into the flesh. The whole goes to the chiefs. Species: pulak. (figure 5).

7. A portion of the back and stomach (marked a and b in the figure) and the head are given the chiefs; between the back and stomach portions four parallel latitudinal slits are made and the four slices that result are cut out and given to the commoners; the remainder of the fish goes to commoners also. Species: mérór (figure 6).

A number of other fish, which resemble these and are also eaten raw, are slit in identical manner. In other wey than Net different methods of slitting are used. The methods are not common knowledge, but are known particularly to the master fishermen (sówsét).

All of the foregoing applies only to fish caught in a new net, except for such fish as mérór, which are always presented to high chiefs.

Feasts for Chiefs

The Kámatip

A number of feasts given to chiefs are classified as kámatip proper, though generally speaking all feasts are called loosely by this term. The important kámatip are always held in the nas in the presence of the chiefs. Theoretically a kámatip involves the use of yams, while no:pwey also involve breadfruit, but the theory is not born out strictly in practice. The kámatip are as follows, in the order they were formerly held:

1. i:ra i:sol (i:ra, border; i:sol, yam season; that is, beginning of yam season). Two Kiti informants give the time it is held as January; a Net informant and one from Matolenim say March; another Net informant says any time from October to May, depending on the condition of the yams. It is supposed to follow the nó:pwey called kótska:p. When the feasts were sharply curtailed by the German regime the deeds to land which were issued provided that a kamatip en waw (honor feast) would be provided once a year to the Nanmarki, and this feast is today reckoned as the old i:ra i:sol. Each wey made the feast in sequence to the Nanmarki, Nanken, A2, B2, and each section made one for its kawn. At this feast yams of any variety may be brought for presentation.

2. wat wonu:m (wat, to enumerate; wonu:m, the family cook house). Given in February (Kiti informant) or April (Net informant). The Nanmarki and Nanken each went about from section to section, accompanied by a wife and some attendants, visiting every kawn and every important man once yearly in this

manner. The feast was made in the wonu:m. Some informants state that each section gave one feast, others that every important family head gave one. One Kiti informant also says that each farmstead would give the feast and invite the other seven farmsteads which supposedly constituted a single section. Very rarely given nowadays.

3. tákatak tipenit (tákatak, to ride, also honorific term for spinning thread by rolling on the thigh; tipenit, coconut husk fiber). This was given for the Nanmarki and Nanken separately (Matolenim informant, any time; Kiti informant, in September), and was considered the biggest kámatip of all. It was held in the nas. The old men would sit and prepare sennit for the chief at this feast, while the young people would make a stone oven and prepare the yams, pigs, and kava. The feast is no longer given.

4. kapey tenrip (kapey, ? ; tenrip, the banana or breadfruit leaves used on this occasion). This is probably the same feast called in Matolenim tenkulop. A whole pit-breadfruit was brought to the nas and placed on banana or breadfruit leaves. Each person present took a piece and kneaded it on a smooth stone, then made it into a loaf about three feet long, six inches high, eight to twelve inches wide, which he wrapped in banana leaves and put in the stone oven to bake. The feast was given in the nas, separately for the Nanmarki and Nanken.

5. u:m en ka:p po:n (u:m, stone oven; ka:p, yam; po:n, whole). Yams baked whole, then divided. For the Nanmarki and Nanken separately, given by the whole wey at one

time; for lesser chiefs by the people of their sections. Made in the nas. No longer done.

6. u:m en pá:li en ka:p (pá:li, part). Similar, but the yams are baked after breaking them up.

The above six kámatip are the most important. Supposedly these kámatip involved yams, never breadfruit, despite the obvious discrepancies. There are a number of less important kámatip, however, which may involve breadfruit and which "anybody can make." Some informants include the feasts for new buildings, new canoes, new nets, etc. under the heading of kámatip. A Matolenim informant adds to the above list a kámatip called kowmot, which is the same as wa: wonu:m (kámatip 2. above) but unlike the latter the chief comes to visit without formal invitation. A Kiti informant adds kayti:sol, given at the end of the yam season, in May, and held in the nas. Among the smaller feasts are ti:yapwel, given to a Nanmarki when he recovers from an illness; u:m en mwirrilik or mwirririk, the death feast; i:rar mwar, a feast for a new title; to:m, a feast of propitiation; family feasts; feasts given to visitors; and a number of others, described below.*

*Hambruch & Eilers (II, 227f) give a sequence of nó:pwey and kámatip different from the ones here given. Their list follows; the parenthetical notes refer to the lists as given above:

Breadfruit nó:pwey:

1. puatsemé'i
2. mé'i áui
3. pai i ni (No. 5)
4. lili (No. 4)
5. tsakalap (No. 8)
6. kamemem
7. tautau
8. um en lu en méi (No. 9)

Yam nó:pwey:

1. puke men puel
2. puke lo pun (Breadfruit nó:pwey 7)
3. kotsé kep' (No. 1)
4. itiz (No. 2)
5. um en peli en kep' (kámatip No. 6)
6. um en kep' uoꝝ (kámatip No. 5)

Kámatip:

1. iré'isol (No. 1)
2. takatak tipenit (No. 3)
3. ké'itisol (see text above)
4. karisimé'i (Breadfruit nó:pwey No. 1)

Other Feasts

While táwlap is expressed, and titles thereby earned, principally through the forms of u:pa thus far discussed, a man's reputation is also affected by his generosity at other types of feasts, at some of which chiefs receive offerings also. These are therefore discussed as part of the prestige competition complex.

For a new seine three feasts are given, called collectively awlayt; none of them is called kámatip. The first of these is si:mas u:k (si:mas, to begin to make; u:k, a seine). The man who has ordered the net prepares food in a stone oven and pounds kava and brings these to the net-maker (saw u:k) at the beginning of his work. The net is made in two halves, and on the day that the net-maker joins the halves and has ready the floats another feast is made, kopsna u:k or patpsna u:k (kopsna, to make together; patpsna, to bind together). The fishermen meanwhile have been assembled in the nas, from which women have been excluded, for several days, awaiting the proper tides; sexual activity is forbidden during this time. The day after this feast the fishermen go fishing, taking with them the food from the feast, and when they return the third feast, called laytkap,* is made. This feast is given by the farmers of the section to the fishermen, and is considered as repayment for the fish, which are distributed. The first fish caught (mwa:meniyaŋ) is presented to the kawn. The three feasts are made for all three types of seines, but only laytkap is made for the four

*This feast is also known as kapas and pasalayt to different informants, but strictly speaking kapas refers to the people of the land who make the stone ovens, not to the fishermen.

types of hand-nets.

At each of these feasts the netmaker formerly made sápsəkaw (see p. 51) and prayed to a fishing deity, Ná:nulap. How much of this religious element persists it is difficult to say, though in the practices surrounding fishing more pagan customs continue than in any phase of Ponapean culture except possibly medicinal practices. At si:mas u:k and kopena u:k the prayers given are designated with the same names as these feasts bear. Prior to beginning the net the netmaker gathers four so:pe sarawi (sacred bast-bundles) which are the stripped-off inner bark of four sticks of hibiscus wood, each about two spans long, folded and tied with hibiscus fiber. These are put in a basket which is weighted down with stones and dropped into shallow salt water; at this time there is more sápsəkaw and prayer to Ná:nulap. Very early in the morning, on the day of first going fishing, kereti is made, which is sápsəkaw and prayer again. All four of these prayers are in the nas; but finally at paseto ("landed") when they have returned from fishing kava is brought down to the shore and the prayer is made there.

Fishing is always done for four days in succession. In Net, for a new small seine (u:ketik), the fish caught on the first day are brought to a nas where the laytkap feast is held for the Nanmarki; the second day for the Nanken at the nas closest to his residence; the third day for the A2 and B2; the fourth day for the A3 and B3. For A2, B2, A3, and B3 the feast need not be held in a nas. In Net today

the Nanken and Nanmarki are father and son, hence one feast is held for both. For the larger seines (u:kelap and soksesok) the laytkap feast is held all four days for the Nanmarki and always in the nas. The laytkap feast for the three seines and the two largest hand nets (naykelap and nayk en toketok) are wey feasts. Those for the two smaller hand nets (lu:kowk and nayketik) are section feasts, may be held elsewhere than in the nas, and the kawn of the section which has the new net may function in place of the wey title-holders.

At such feasts the fish are considered to be exchanged for the agricultural food brought by the people who have made the u:m and is equally divided among them. All the land produce, except that given to the Nanmarki and Nanken, is given to the fishermen, who retain none of the fish; the largest share goes to the master fisherman. This exchange is known as sowo. But if the fishing has been unlucky the sacred staff (koti:ya sarawi) used by the master fisherman for religious purposes is brought into the nas where the Nanmarki and the land people are assembled waiting for the catch, and the staff is taken to represent the missing fish and the food from the u:m is divided among all present.

The returning fishermen signal their arrival by long blasts on their conch trumpets, similar to those formerly given for a dead commoner.

At the time of these feasts the kawn and the wey chiefs who dwell in the section have to be present, no fish can be sent to their houses; if they are not there they have to be summoned before the feast can proceed. Besides the

fish consumed at the feast many are distributed to be carried home. Large fishes are given singly to the chiefs; medium sized ones are tied in bundles of three, small ones in bundles of five, and so presented.

For a new canoe there are again three feasts. The first feast (ka:tiŋ en wa:r; ka:tiŋ, repayment; wa:r, canoe) is held the first day of the shaping of the hull, the man who is having the canoe made thereby paying the canoe-makers. A chief must be present, otherwise the Nanmarki would (formerly) come and destroy the canoe. When the lashing is to be put on the outrigger a second feast (ka:tiŋ en i:naw wa:r; i:naw, lashing) is held; a chief should be present but is not always. When the canoe is finished and has been taken fishing the people left behind make an ŋ:m and the food is exchanged with the fish that the fishermen bring back, while all drink kava; this feast (katapeyk) is similar to the laytkap feast for a new net. The Nanmarki himself is obliged to attend on this day. (A katapeyk observed in Kiti, however, was given to the A6, on whose land the tree from which the hull was fashioned had been cut; and the Nanmarki was not present. The land people brought breadfruit, pit breadfruit, and kava as their part). The three feasts are also known collectively as katapeyk.

A new dwelling house (i:mwalap) calls for two feasts, together called kapitelo:ŋ (to cause to enter). When the framework is in place a feast (ka:ka:npena, to visit together) is given by the owner to the master carpenter (sowse) and the

people of the section who have come to help. When the house is finished another feast (called kapitelo:n again) is given at which the Nanmarki or Nanken attends; no one else may enter the new house until one or the other chief has done so, otherwise a disease (riyála) of divine origin befalls the tempter of fate. In Kiti the dedication of a new house is called kapsnpilaŋ.

A new community house (nas) requires four feasts, called collectively i:sima:s (i:si, to cleanse; ma:s, foul matter caused by maggots or maggots themselves). The first job in building is to dig two holes for the main central posts; when this is done a feast (sereta, to dig, also to erect a framework) is held. When the roof is put on a second feast (étstəl; et, smoke; təl, black; i.e., the roof is to be blackened by smoke) is given. When the floor is laid there is a third feast (kaŋiŋ en ta:t; kaŋiŋ, repayment; ta:t, floor). When all is finished a fourth feast (called i:sima:s again) is held.

The term i:sima:s is sometimes used loosely to cover the ceremonies for both dwelling house and community house. In both cases the Nanmarki or Nanken anciently came with his priests and prayed to his clan gods, in order to avoid the possibility of the divine disease; then the final feast would follow. Today the situation is not essentially altered. Though there is less communal effort in building of private houses and more individual paying of carpenters, the old customs are still preserved in building the community house; and in both cases the Nanmarki or Nanken

attends, and Christian ministers pray that the house be protected from evil.

The deference exhibited toward men of higher rank is evident in the arrangement of these feasts too. In 1947 a family including the B4, B11, and Sowkperso of Net completed their new nas in section 12 and should have staged their i:sima:s; but they deferred to the A2, who was also building a community house, and waited until he had finished and dedicated it before they gave their feast.

One of the greatest feasts of all was given to weliwel (a type of bonito) fishermen who came to Ronape from the nearby atoll of Ant. Only the Ant people caught these fish; they quartered them, partially baked them in a stone oven, removed all the bones (as the Greenwich Island people are said to do today) then dried them on a rack in the sun till they were very hard and would keep for a year. The Sawlik en Ant, who was the high chief of the atoll, and his people then brought them in baskets to Kiti, whose overlordship was acknowledged by Ant. If the Sawlik did not come himself the Ant people were accorded the honors in his place; they were anointed by the Kiti women, took the highest place on the main platform of the Nas, and were presented with all sorts of valuables -- yams, mats, sennit, dogs, kava, etc. In return they presented the fish. The feast was known as kamatipw en sak en Ant (feast of the food of Ant). The schools of bonito are said to come only once a year, hence this feast was an

annual affair. It persisted until the time of the Nanmarki Paul of Kiti. Elsewhere in Ponape such a feast made for fishermen is called kamatip kap en wa:r (kap, floor; wa:r, canoe; referring to the fish brought ashore on the floor of the canoe). This is not the same as the feast given fishermen for the catch from a new net or from a new canoe.

The bonito were caught with large or small seines, which were laid in a semicircle beside a reef around the fish which had been chased here by men in canoes; at the ends of the semi-circle strings of coconut branches were also laid. The ends of the net were then pulled to the bank and the fish taken out by hand. Informants disagree as to whether hooks were used with bonito.

On the occasion of the visit of a Nanmarki of one wey to the Nanmarki of another wey the host would give a big feast, which lasted for two or more days. Thereupon the visitors would return home and shortly afterwards the visit would be reciprocated, a feast as large or larger being given in return. The feast was known as kamatipwen seylök. Each party felt it necessary to make the trip in force, usually some thirty or more canoes accompanying the chief, so precarious was the state of peace at any time.

Before a war party set out it held an affair known as u:m en étist (étist, smoke). On four successive days the men feasted together; this was called kapwénak. Then the day before hostilities began they gave a departure feast to the women and children, called also u:m en étist. They killed rats, dogs, and in later times pigs, but partook very scantily of meat, subsisting largely on kava, while they made their plans for

battle. The portions of meat distributed were about as large as a man's thumb. A brave warrior was supposed to take the field with an empty stomach, for when he was slain his body would often be slashed open and his stomach contents examined, and if they consisted of half-digested food he was an object of contempt, but if there were found only the hard, black kernels which kava is said to form in the stomach he was then held to have met an honorable death.

On the occasion of the act of aggrandizement called ki:âmpuk, when a chief of high rank drove a man of lower title from a piece of land which he coveted, the inhabitants thereof would give their new lord a feast which bore the same name, ki:âmpuk.

A number of feasts are called family feasts (kamatipwen paneyney or panaynay), though they may involve more than relatives if the persons concerned are of high rank. Among these is included the death feast, called u:m sn mwirrilik or mwirririk. This is considered to be a man's farewell gesture in the prestige complex; all his yams are dug up, except a few that are reserved for his family, and these are displayed at the feast. Although the relatives contribute some food too, the dead man is supposed to contribute most, "to show what he has done during his life." Though there is ceremonial mourning at the bier of the dead man in his house, there is little sign of grief at the feast itself, which is held in a nas. The mourning period, which may last six months or a year, involves considerable unconventional behavior, but none of this is displayed at the feast.

A similar feast is called a kamú:rimu:r (kamu:r, farewell; mu:r, last); it is given by a man who thinks he is about to die and has his people take all of his property, save what he sets aside for his heirs to have, to make the feast. The feast is a gesture of loyalty to the Nanmarki as well as a display of property, for the Nanmarki attends and receives all the feast goods. Such a feast has been made in recent times.

The birthday feast (kamatipwen i:pwiti) is not native, but stems from the influence of the Congregationalist missionaries; this is true also of the birth feast (kamatipwen i:pwip) for most people, although the Nanmarki and Nanken did give a feast for a new-born child. Usually the birthday feast today is made for the young and adolescent children of the high-born and the rich by their parents; one such feast on a large scale was given in 1947 by the Nanmarki of Sokas for his son on the occasion of the latter's eighteenth birthday. But sometimes these are only family affairs; the writer attended a birth feast for the great-grandson of the Nanken of Matolenim at which he was the only guest, all others present being close relatives; the arrangements were very informal, kava being drunk out of china bowls in the house, after being pounded under a shelter made of a tarpaulin and palm branches laid over clothes-lines next to the house.

The marriage feast is called kamatipwen kapo:pawt or po:pawt. At the feast the prospective bride sat on the side platform of the nas; if she were to be the Nanmarki's wife the Nanken would come to her and himself anoint her head, back, and chest with sweet-smelling coconut oil; then he would say

to her, "I have anointed you, you are the Nanmarki's wife," and would put an el en seyr wreath (see p.52) on her head and lead her up to the main platform of the nas, where she would take her seat and other women would come to sit in the traditional attitude of her attendants. For a Nanken's wife the Nanmarki would perform the reciprocal office. If the woman was a commoner the man's parents would do the anointing and crowning. The feast might be held the same day that the marriage was agreed upon between the parents of the couple, or it might be delayed a day or two to allow distant relatives to assemble. It was given by the boy's parents, who fetched the girl back with them from her parents. Sometimes it would be preceded by another feast made by the father of the girl as soon as the agreement was reached between him and the boy's parents or maternal uncle; this was called kamatipwen pokipok po:pawt (to ask in marriage). The marriage feast was then given by the boy's parents on their return with the bride, and might also be called kamatipwen tupú:k en ká:ta:k (tupú:k, a gift returned for a gift; ká:ta:k, a kindness). Nowadays the marriage feast follows the church wedding; usually there are two feasts, the bridegroom's family making one on the day after the wedding, the bride's family reciprocating on the next day.

In token of recognition of adulthood, at about the age of 16, the family gave boys and girls a feast called kamatipwen katópweṭop (katópweṭop, to cause to bathe). The reference is to the four-day period during which bathing was proscribed, following the tatooing done on both sexes and the

semi-castration practiced on adolescent boys. Following these operations the young people bathed and were anointed with oil, after which the feast^{was} given; thereafter they were recognized as eligible for marriage. The feast is defunct, along with tatooing and semi-castration.

In practice today the theoretical distinctions between various types of first fruits and feasts are not always maintained. Differences tend to become obliterated and details vary considerably. A kótskaíp type of nó:pwey attended by the writer in 1947 was given in August instead of in October as it theoretically should have been; first yams, but also sugar cane, were brought to the Nanken of Net by some twenty people of two sections; and at the same time kava was brought to be pounded and drunk, as at a regular kámatip. On the same day the Nanmarki, who is the Nanken's son, was similarly honored. The affair was also known as a soq menpwel (to taste things that grow underground), because of the yams, though sugar cane does not come under this category. The yams were brought by the men, the sugar cane by the women; for these two foods are supposed to be divided on this sexual basis, according to which sex looks after their care. In September the people of Sáptakay, Kiti, made an i:tí:t type of nó:pwey to the Aó of Kiti, on whose land they live; though i:tít is supposed to come in December. At the same time they brought kava and a pig they had already cooked in their wonu:m and the kava was drunk in the nearby nas, giving the affair the character of a kámatip.

The feasts exchanged between individuals or between political subdivisions, to be discussed in the next section, also merge with the feasts offered to a chief. A generous chief, such as the A6 of Kiti, to whom many feasts are given, retains only a small portion of the yams he is offered and usually bestows most of the rest on one of the visitors (to'n kapár) who has brought nothing himself, or on representatives of a particular section. The recipient accepts if he feels able to return the feast at a later date. The return feast is also given to the A6, but most of the offerings end up in the hands of the sponsor or sponsors of the first feast. In such a case the pair of feasts differs hardly at all from the mas en pok type of friendly reciprocal feast to be shortly described, where two men directly exchange friendly feasts with one another; only a small part of the food offered at these feasts accrues to the chief to whom they are nominally given, and some to the other visitors. The reciprocal exchange pattern does not affect the pigs and kava, some of which are consumed at the feast, the remainder divided among all persons present.

In Net nowadays the chiefs have systematized the feasts and caused a number of different ones to be offered simultaneously. One recorded feast combined an i:sima:s (dedication of a new community house) and a kamatipwen waw (honor feast) given by several sections together; another, was given by twelve men as a kamatipwen waw and by three others in payment for new titles (irar mwar); still a third combined an i:sima:s, a kamatipwen waw, and an irar mwar for three men.

Competitive Feasts

In the various forms of u:pa described the competition is between all persons involved, each striving to outdo the others by showing that he is the most industrious, the one most skilful in growing large yams, the most generous in making offerings, and the most devoted to the chief. Thus he gains merit and earns titles. The sálapane type of feast is something quite different. It is called a kámatip by the natives but it is not at all like such a kámatip as í:ra í:sol, for example. Here the express object is not to gain favor for titles (though the winner is considered the better man and his fame is certain to reach the notice of the chiefs) but to best a rival in direct competition; and the feast is not held to make offerings to chiefs (though this may be done incidentally if a chief is present) but to exchange goods between the rivals as the method of competing.*

Sálapane takes various forms which range from friendly exchanges of food to demonstrations that parallel closely the potlatch of other parts of the world. The potlatch type may end in actual fighting.

A friendly feast is called káparapar (to increase) or mes en pek (mes, face, front; pek, cut; referring to the head of the yam, which is cut off at the feast and replanted by its recipient). Even here there is the element of rivalry, with the man who brought the largest and the most yams deriving personal satisfaction and elevating his prestige in the

*Though written in the present tense most of this section, except for the references to friendly feasts, applies to the past.

eyes of other persons thereby. Such feasts are still made nowadays. Joseph, the Nanken of Net, describes his competition with the old Nanken, Paulino, at this type of feast as friendly but with an element of rivalry, of striving to outdo the other. Paulino would visit Joseph (who was then B3) purely from motives of sociability, apparently, and a feast would be given in his honor. Paulino would then return home and send his people back to fetch and divide among themselves the presents of food; then he would invite Joseph to visit him for a return feast. The motive for the Nanken in this sort of competition could not have been ambition, for he could go no higher in the hierarchy of titles; but a life-long habit of pitting oneself against other men in every sort of social situation is a difficult one to discard even when no further advantage is gained by its exercise; moreover, he could still augment his personal prestige, quite apart from his title, by consistently besting other men and thereby indicating his wealth.

The friendly feast is similar to that made by the two halves of a section to each other, which is also a competition but on an amicable level. On a different plane is the pot-latch, which is much less friendly. Such an affair usually results from a disparaging remark to the effect that someone has no yams or pigs or kava; more rarely, when someone has been seen to violate the secrecy of a yam plantation by sneaking in to observe what possessions the owner has.

Some informants distinguish between two types of potlatch. Between two sections a competitive feast is called a kówroparop (to make a variety of things).* Between two halves of a wey the potlatch is called a kówsarensap (to cause lifting the taboo from the land; referring to the freeing of the people from the taboo against digging yams periodically enjoined by the chiefs); this term is also applied to competitive feasts between other geographical areas as well. The two types of feast are similar except that in theory somewhat different standards of victory are applied; at the kówaarensap it is quantity of yams which counts most, while at the kówroparop it is the kinds of yams which is important. In contrast to both of these, in the prestige competition at ordinary feasts, u:pa, it is the size of the yam, not quantity or kind, which is supposed to gain most merit. Actually a new variety of yam seems to win at any type of potlatch; the names of the feasts are loosely applied and difficult to distinguish in practice.* The various types of sálapane differ from the friendly feast (kaparapar or mas en pek) not only in intensity of competitive feeling but in rules and standards; at the friendly feast only yams are concerned while in the true potlatch every possession the contestants have may be entered.

At u:pa standards with yams are based on the number of vines and the size of the head. But at a kówroparop or a kówsarensap a large yam with only one vine counts more than

*This is indicated by the alternative terms for kówroparop which occur in the writer's notes: u:pan en kawsap and salapan en kawsap. Both of these terms mean "competition between sections" but a distinction is made between two forms of competition (see explanation on p. 141); yet here they are used as synonyms by informants.

one with many vines. With sugar-cane it is the length of the stalk which counts, at any type of competition. With kava the important point is its age and the number of its branches; a certain fern which grows on old plants is artificially encouraged in order to enhance their apparent age. Age counts also with pit-breadfruit.

A castrated and fattened dog is one of the most important articles one might offer a chief at a feast or enter in competition at a potlatch. Today dogs are rarely seen at feasts, though this is true more because of their scarcity than because of Western attitudes. Dogs are well-treated and considered almost like children. They sleep on their master's mat. A fight between dogs was frequently the occasion for a quarrel between their masters. But a man who offered several at a feast was greatly admired, and desire for prestige usually outweighed affection toward the animals. Pigs are likewise castrated and fattened, but the important thing with this animal is the length of its tusks; but even more weighty than a boar with long tusks is a female which is past bearing and has become very fat.

In any type of feast breadfruit, bananas, and coconuts do not count. Articles are rated in order of prestige value as follows: yams, kava, dogs, pigs, and pit-breadfruit.

In the potlatch the side which has been insulted by disparaging remarks or by being spied upon calls on all its resources for the preparation of the feast, to which it invites the challengers. Sometimes there is no challenge, but the competitive feast is ordered by a chief in order to ascertain

which side is superior. The contest may be between two men, two families, two sub-clans, two sections, two wey, two halves of one section or wey, or any other political grouping. When political or geographical units compete they transcend clan or kinship ties across which they may cut; and vice versa.

The challenged side kills all its pigs and brings yams and kava and whatever valuables it may have. The articles are displayed, then given to the challenging side, which accepts them if it feels it can outdo the challenged party at the return feast, held the next day or so; otherwise it rejects the gifts and acknowledges defeat. The guests at this first feast may also indicate acceptance by "lifting" the feast; that is, they take over the officiating and division of the food; failure to do so indicates defeat. "Lifting" may occur even at a so-called friendly feast; and occasionally other types of feast are given the aspect of a potlatch by the issuance of a challenge at the spot and the "lifting" of the feast then and there. Many outsiders attend the feast and join the victors in laughing at the party which has admitted defeat. Often taunting results in actual fighting.

When a competition has resulted from a quarrel between two men the relatives of each gather to urge them on; and if the relatives of one contestant see that he cannot match the other they will exhort him not to accept defeat; instead one may take up the challenge in his place. If this

happens the relatives of his antagonist join in also, and eventually large numbers of people may be involved, all digging up their yams to display their abundance. But if only the two original contestants are the active participants the relatives abstain from contributing. Should one party acknowledge that it has been bested and retire in disgrace it will make an attempt to come back on a future day.

The news of such a contest spreads rapidly and spectators come in large numbers. Normally the Nanmarki and Nanken come to stop it, to halt the digging up of all the yams and to prevent possible bloodshed. In such a case each side would present to the Nanmarki a large yam, a large kava bush, and a large pig; this would indicate their equality and formally end the matter.

When the competition has been ordered between the two halves of a wey by the Nanmarki, and sometimes on other such occasions, the Nanmarki and Nanken attend and are the formal recipients of all the objects brought for display. They retain what they wish and the remainder is given to the challengers, who then present the return feast. The exchange of goods is, then, between the two contestants, and the attending chiefs only function as part of the machinery of the exchange. A feast given under order in this fashion might be either friendly or inimical; in the former case each side supposedly gives what it wishes and it does not matter which gives most; such a feast is called kamatipwen wey instead of kowsarensap. But in actual practice it is

difficult to make a distinction. The descriptions of the feasts formerly held between the two halves of Matolenim (pá:li en kapsto pali:yet, consisting of sections 1-13, and pá:li en kapeto pali:yo, sections 14-28) suggest that they varied considerably in nature. Sometimes the Nanmarki would lead one side and the Nanken the other; sometimes they would be both on one side and other chiefs would head the other side. It is possible that such variability reflected jockeying for political position and that this in turn would be expressed in greater or lesser overttness of hostility, hence giving a variable aspect to such feasts.

At a kowsarensap the first competitor sets the style, so to speak, and the challenger at the return feast will bring yams of the same size, small or large, depending on what size the challenged party brought, but will try to outdo him in quantity. The same applies to kava. Where the standards of competition involve kinds rather than quantities or size a single specimen of a new yam, not possessed by the challenger, will give victory, regardless of whatever else has been brought.

At u:pa there is also competition to bring most but there is no taunting, only good-natured joking. A man might say in jest, "I have more than you," and everyone laughs. If one man tells another, "Your yam is the largest," the second man laughs and denies it, and says, "It is all I have." A man who is pointed out as having brought the largest yam feels proud but will point to someone else as champion. Yet

he will make sure that his modesty does not obscure his prowess in the eyes of the attending chiefs.

The foregoing descriptions are ideal patterns. Some instances of remembered potlatches reveal that there is considerable variation in detail in actual practice:

In German times a kówsarənsap was held on the occasion of the construction of wharves at section 19 and at Wónə, in Kiti; first section 19 gave a feast and presented all the food to the Nanmarki, who kept a small part of it and presented the remainder to the Nanken; the Nanken then divided it among his people, who were the Wónə party. Then the Wónə people gave the reciprocal feast and this time the Nanmarki divided the objects among his own people, the party from section 19.

On another occasion in Kiti during the same period the Nanmarki ordered a kówsarənsap between the two halves of Kiti, simply to see which side could produce the most.

About 1890 a kówsarənsap was held between the B3 of Matolenim, who headed sections 20-22, and Toses, who led the people of section 23. It originated in a quarrel over yams. Toses, as the aggrieved party, gave the first feast, at Tamon; he made ten stone ovens in a large nas and brought all the food he could accumulate. Nearly every oven contained a different type of yam; two of them were of the type called awnsona, after its discoverer, and were so large as to require twenty men each to carry them. The B3 had no yams of this type and therefore conceded defeat without giving a return feast; instead he returned all the articles

which had been presented him by Toses. Both sides obeyed the strict injunction of Paul, the Nanmarki, to keep the peace, and no fighting resulted. Although this feast was called a kówsarənsap the standard applied was kind, not quantity, hence it conforms more closely to the definition of a kówrəparəp and illustrates the difficulty of attempting to adhere to native theoretical distinctions.

A kówsarənsap was held in 1900 between Augustine of section 2, Matolenim, and his classificatory mother's brother, whose children had taunted Augustine over his supposed lack of yams for feasting. Augustine, his elder brother, and his three children competed against the mother's brother and about ten relatives; he brought to the feast one hundred ka:p en namu: yams of two-man size, three hundred smaller yams, three hundred kava plants, thirty pigs, and a cow, and Augustine boasts that he still had yams left in the ground after all this. The mother's brother did not attend the feast, having heard of the great quantities of food brought by Augustine and realizing that he could not win; his relatives came, however, and shouted insults, but departed without fighting, owing to the Nanmarki's edict. There was no return feast. Nearly fifty years later Augustine still laughs at the discomfited challengers.

A competition some time before 1870 took place between Kiti proper and Wíne. It involved only kava, no yams. It was an abortive affair, for the Kiti people sent observers by night to spy out the amount of kava the Wíne people had, and on receiving the report decided that they could not

successfully compete, so withdrew their challenge.

Under Nanmarki Paul of Matolenim (before 1900) a competition arose between sections 6 and 8. The people of section 6 vilified those of section 8, spreading gossip that the latter had no yams. The insulted party began to dig up all its yams, but Paul came to them and stopped it because he was afraid of a fight afterwards.

Some time prior to 1870 the section 8 people spread gossip that the people of Lot, (now two sections, 27 and 28) had no yams or kava worth mentioning. Lot thereupon dug up all its yams and made a feast; the people from section 8 came, accepted all the food, and two days later gave a return feast. When everything was counted the Lot people turned out to have won and laughed at their opponents, who "got a bad name." The losers were angry, but the Nanken, who was from Lot, and the A2, a section 8 inhabitant, prevented any fighting.

No actual record of a fight following a competitive feast was obtained. It is possible that this is due to Christian influence, since missionaries have been active in Ponape since shortly after 1850.

Despite the German and Japanese prohibitions a kówrɔparɔp was held in section 3, Net, just prior to the recent war. In this case it was half of section 3 against the other half. The division had no relation to kinship but purely to geography. It was caused in the usual manner, by one party decrying the poverty in possessions of the other. The side headed by the A5 of Net won by producing a large two-man yam with only one vine, which is more difficult to grow than

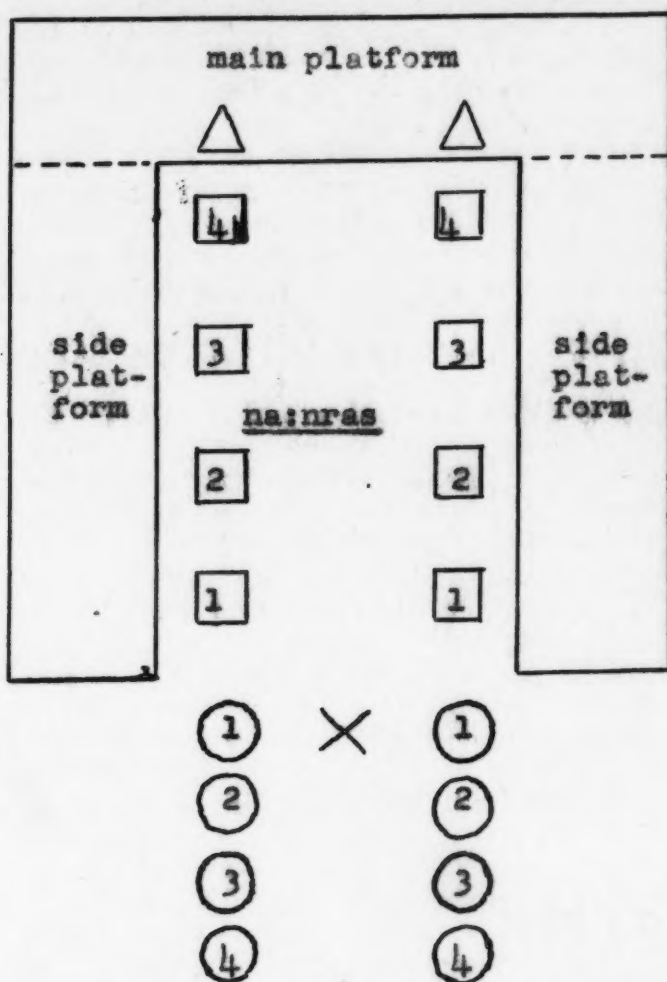
one with several vines.

Pairing off in competition tended in some areas to become institutionalized. Thus sections 1 and 2 of Net, which are islands within the lagoon, used to compete regularly. In theory (at least in Kiti) there was a regular division of the sections into eight subdivisions at the annual í:ra í:sol and tákatak tipani:t (see pp. 164 f) feasts given to the Nanmarki and other high chiefs of each wey and section, and perhaps at every regular feast. These divisions were called u:m, the term for stone oven, from the fact that each of them prepared one such oven; sometimes they seem to be equivalent to farmsteads, sometimes not. They were arrayed into two sides, the sides themselves sometimes called kówsarənsap, which competed against each other in providing yams, kava, and pigs. On the occasion of such a feast the two sides competed simultaneously instead of on successive days. Such regular affairs were not followed by fighting.

This sort of competition, though it lacked the overt hostility of the formal potlatch, illustrates that the theoretical distinction in the native mind between friendly feasts and competitive feasts is not clear-cut in practice. A description of a tákatak tipani:t feast, given in section 19 of Kiti in former days, distinctly shows this (see accompanying plate). The eight farmsteads (paliənsap) in this section were ranged on two sides called əlep (half) or lapi:o u:m. In the nas four u:m would be lined up on each side of the central, ground-level area, a paliənsap head in charge of each u:m. A kava pounding stone would be

PLATE IX

A tákatak tipenit feast in the community house (nas) of section 19, Kiti.



Numbers in squares represent the stone ovens (u:m) of the eight farmsteads (páliensap) of section 19, Kiti, ranged four to a side. páliensap No. 1 on one side competes and exchanges with páliensap No. 1 of the other side; and so on. The numbers in circles represent the piles of yams belonging to each páliensap, left outside of the nas for display. "X" marks the heap of pigs brought by all the páliensap; though they are piled together for convenience in singeing off the hair on the hot stones from the ovens there is no possibility of confusion of ownership. The triangles on the main platform mark the location of the two principal kava stones; kava is pounded here until the u:m are cleared away, then more kava stones are arranged in two rows in the central area (na:nras). One kava stone and a row of ovens is under charge of the Kraw en weyn, the Xl of the section; the other stone and row are under the Nánawa en ró:nkiti, who is the Yl chief. The overseer of all is the Awn kiti, the (formerly) highest title in the section.

be started by each side; then each paliensap would start its own u:m going and exchange yams with a particular paliensap on the other side. For example, if paliensap No. 1 on one side had 100 yams in its pile it might bake perhaps 20, give another 20 to the Nanmarki, and present the remaining 60 to paliensap No. 1 on the other side. The recipient would reciprocate by returning what it had left in its pile to the donor. The Nanmarki (or other chief for whom the feast was being held) would distribute much of what was given to him to the other high-titled men present. It can readily be seen that more than one idea is involved here: generosity in presentation direct to the chiefs in order to win prestige and perhaps a promotion in the hierarchy of titles for the head of the paliensap which made the best showing; and direct competition with another political subdivision in order to show superiority, and at the same time but less directly to reflect prestige on the side which dominated.

Where information is available the ideal pattern of eight u:m does not seem to have been always followed. A part of the present wey of U made one í:ra í:sol feast at which there were twelve u:m, arranged into two sides called lepeylon and lepeyey. The six u:m on the lepeylon side were provided by two sections, 8 and 9, and four paliensap of section 7 (Po:nkaym, Kaymwæn, Na:nseympwæl, and Sawi:so). On the lepeyey side four sections, 3-6, and two paliensap of section 7 (Lukopas and Peyeyn U) made the six u:m.

The other sections of U (1, 2, and 10-15) staged their i:ra i:sol feasts separately. These feasts were given four days in all, to the Nanmarki, Nanken, A2, and B2 in that order.

After the i:ra i:sol each subdivision, at least in U, would give a separate feast for a subdivision in the other half; this feast was also called a kówsarensap and was returned the next day. It seems to have been a regular affair, not depending on a challenge, and usually ended in fighting. The pairing was as follows:

| | | |
|--------------|----|-----------|
| Section 8 | vs | Section 6 |
| Section 9 | vs | Section 3 |
| Po:nkaym | vs | reyeyn U |
| Kaymwen | vs | Lukopas |
| Na:nseympwel | vs | Section 5 |
| Sawi:so | vs | Section 4 |

In section 13 of U the pairing was similar, for both i:ra i:sol and kówsarensap:

| <u>lepeylon</u> | | <u>lepeyey</u> |
|-----------------|----|----------------|
| Payti | vs | Sep |
| Po:npi:r | vs | Sowkiro |
| Sawi:so | vs | Paylon en roy |
| Apweyakpeylon | vs | Nintol |
| Apweyakpeyey | vs | Likompeylon |
| Na:nepok | vs | Likompeyey |

The expressed native theory that there were eight páliensap in a section fails thus to be borne out everywhere. In section 13 there were twelve, in section 7 of U only six. Elsewhere irregularities may in part be due to the effects of the issuance of deeds in German times; on such deeds the various holdings of a man, when they were contiguous, were entered as a single piece of land and collectively called by the native name of one of those holdings; thus references

by name to former paliensap tend to become confused. Depopulation in some areas has also affected the number of u:m which can be made. But Net informants deny any 8-u:m or 6-u:m pattern and say that there may even be an odd number of paliensap in a section. The B2 of Net, for example, recalls that there were ten u:m at i:ra i:sol in section 1 some thirty years ago and there are sixteen today at its modern substitute, the honor feast. Each paliensap was occupied by one family, hence it is obvious that they must have varied in number from time to time; but where the number eight was held to, as seems to have been the case in Kiti, there must have been grouping of families together in order to achieve the ideal number of u:m, and a paliensap could not always have corresponded to one u:m. Or it may be that paliensap is a term not to be translated literally as a family farmstead but indicates a political subdivision with which farmsteads tended to, but did not always, coincide.

In Kiti, at least, the ceremonial exchanges between the paliensap occurred also at those nopwey which involved assemblage in the community house. The rivalry in attempting to outdo others in food presentation at such affairs persists today, but only in a minor degree. In Kiti there was the same ranging of the u:m on two sides, but the exchanges, at least in some places, were between any two paliensap on opposite sides, not between members of designated pairs. In section 16 of Kiti the u:m are arranged as follows:

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| Pokil | ro:naŋi:yaŋ |
| Kapinu:lu:l | ro:naŋki:ŋk |
| Təŋki:ap * | Palap |
| Ka:rki | Sawpi:r |

*Given as Pani:ŋs by another informant

In section 15 of Kiti:

Kapinsomoy

Kapinsomoy
Tanemok
Reywey
Ki:yas

Kapileroy

Na:nmaqil
Alamas
Kapi:le
Kapinta

In section 26 of Kiti:

u:m payupa

(i.e., four lower u:m)

Po:nkulu
Lo:genkiti
Ta wenapa
Lo:porik

u:m payupewe

(i.e., four upper u:m)

Tol en samaki
Aypwa
I:mwenjol
Matol

But section 29 of Kiti has only two páliensap (i.e., two u:m); the northern half of the section is Ti:yempe, the southern is Leypwe; informants say that this was true anciently also. Section 5 of Kiti likewise has two páliensap, Sawnsom and I:pal, each divided into six mo:kot (a term used rather variably in different areas, but here signifying a subdivision of a páliensap); each mo:kot provided one u:m, as follows:

Sawnsom

Na:nitip
Sapwat
Na:npalap
Toleni
Panor
Po:nyon

I:pal

Alapowey
Po:ntuwi
Paler
Po:nsa:mak
Topa:ri
rankomo

It seems clear that in this section the term páliensap is being used for the two halves of the section which exist elsewhere but are usually unnamed, and that mo:kot is here equivalent to páliensap as previously used.

In Awak, at present sections 1 and 2 of U, the ancient organization was six u:m, three on a side:

Paliempil
Sawiso riyaw
Matarr

Pa:remitik
Masnipal *
Panql *

Following the German redistribution of lands the two sides in Awak became organized into twelve u:m, four on one side, eight on the other, as follows:

Kopun
Wel
Meykito
Ti:yerokpwel

Reymore
ranpey
Na:nwo
Na:nkapini:yak
Alukoron
Peni:yetik
Tipenponore
Panipa

Just how this apparently unbalanced division functioned in food exchanges is not clear; another informant gives eight, unnamed u:m instead of twelve.

Although these twofold divisions pitted geographical areas against one another, political and kinship ties were also involved. For example, in section 29 of Kiti it was the Xl of the section, the Na:nsaw en Sawiso, who led the people of Leypwel paliensap in competition against the people of Ti:yonpo paliensap headed by the Yl, the Na:nkrow'n Sawiso; and the followers of each of the two chiefs tended to be his clansmates within the section. In section 15 of Kiti the four u:m in Kapileroy were similarly headed by the Xl, the four in Kapinsomoy by the Yl. Each separate u:m might be headed by a designated section title belonging to one or the other line of titles within the section. In Awak, U, this was organized as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Under the Xl (Sawlik en Awak) | Under the Yl (Krow en Awak) |
| Paliempil | under the Lepni:yeh Awak |
| Sawiso riyaw | under the Sitin Awak |
| Matarr | under the Sawlik en Awak |

*Masnipal and Panql constitute modern section 1 of U, the other four u:m making up modern section 2.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <u>Under the Yl</u> (Krown en Awak) | |
| Pa:remitik | under the Krown en Awak |
| Masenipal | under the Korom en Awak |
| Panql | under the Sowmataw en Awak |

Since the three titles on each side (especially in U) belong to the same line of chiefs and usually to the same family the competition within the section is essentially between two kinship units and is of a somewhat different cast from that between political units larger than sections and also from the prestige competition of individuals. When more than one section is involved there will be more than two kinship units in competition, and kinship ties may cut across political and residential bonds instead of reinforcing them as they do within the section. There are, however, no data as to intensity of competitive feeling at the different levels of competitive exchange, so we can make no generalizations as to the reality to the native of this distinction. Again, in the presentation of food to the chiefs at ordinary feasts the individual strives to augment his prestige by surpassing the efforts of all other individuals; whereas in group competitions personal ambition must be temporarily submerged in the communal cause; but the distinction is not clear-cut, for in the first case a man is often helped by his relatives in his efforts to prove himself worthy of a promotion, and in the second case the individual's contribution to the u:m is noted by all persons present and his reputation is thereby affected.

THE FEAST

The Community House

Feasts of all types are held in the nas, which is variously referred to in the literature as community house, meeting house, feast house, and all-men(s) house. Any of these terms is applicable except the last, which is an error based upon a false analogy with similar structures in the Western Carolines. The nas varies somewhat in construction, but the most developed form is a building containing platforms on three sides, the rear being left open. The central, ground level area (the na:nras) is the place where kava is pounded and the stone ovens (u:m) are made. The main, front platform (lanpo:ntam) is somewhat higher than the two side platforms (ma:psantik) and is often stepped.

On the main platform of the nas sit the sowpsyti, in this case meaning the Nanmarki, Nanken, and their wives; the term sowpsyti derives from this seating arrangement, psyti meaning lower (i.e., those who look down toward the people), since they sit facing the rear of the building, while everyone else sits on a lower level and faces them.

In Kiti the Nanmarki sits forward of the front central post of the main platform, the post being called the sowpsyti also, with his attendants in front of and facing him. The B2 sits alongside him, in front of the next post to his right, and the Nanken in front of the next post to his left; to the left of the Nanken the A2 may sit, though not always.*

The point of this arrangement is that lower titles in the same

*Hambruch and Eilers (II, 17) have a diagram of a feast in W6ne which shows the A2 to the right of the Nanmarki, but the community house in which the feast was held belonged to the A2, which may have affected the seating arrangements.

line do not sit near the Nanmarki or Nanken. Farther to the right of the B2 sits the Nanmarki's wife, and to her right sits the Nanken's wife. In front of each of these persons sits his attendant or attendants, but still on the main platform. Nowadays, in Kiti, Oliver, who is the A6 but who holds one of the Nanmarki's titles, Ro:sa, may sit in the B2's place; he is in the A-line but belongs to clan 18. In Kiti the A2's position is not definite, since his duties take him into the na:nras where the other A-titles are working. He can sit anywhere on the main platform, as long as he is not near the Nanmarki.

In Net, according to the Nanken of this way, the Nanmarki and Nanken should sit on the right of the platform, their wives on their left; but relative position of Nanmarki to Nanken, and relative position of their wives to each other, do not matter. From observation at feasts the Nanmarki actually sits in the center of the platform, as in Kiti, with the Nanken and visitors from other way to his right, his wife to his left and the Nanken's wife to the left of her. The A2 should sit and work at the last kava stone in the right row of stones, and is not supposed to move about. The A3 has duties which keep him on the right platform. The A4 must, like the A2, sit in the na:nras and work when the Nanmarki is present. The B-line chiefs, being seri:so, are permitted to move about as they please. The B2 is the divider of the food in Net, and has duties which keep him standing on the main platform; so his proper place was not observed; his principal assistants, the A6 and the B4 in Net, likewise have special duties, though these are not duties which adhere to these titles but to the particular men who at present possess them. On the left platform, from the Nanmarki's point of view, sit the women; on the right platform

sit the men who are not working in the na:nras; but this division is not always enforced, and at some feasts when the women do not fill up their side a number of men sit there too.

In Matolenim the Nanmarki instead of sitting in the center sits toward the right side of the main platform, with the Nanken more toward the center, to his left, contrary to the practice elsewhere. To the left of the Nanken sits the Nanmarki's wife, and left of her the Nanken's wife. All of these face forward. The A2 in this wey sits toward the front end of the left platform, facing the sowpeyti; behind him, about midway down the platform, is the position of the A3; and behind him, toward the rear end, is the A5, who must stand in order to perform his duty, the overseeing of the work in the na:nras. If the A5 is absent the A4 may sit here. On the right platform in Matolenim the B2 sits in a position about one third of the way to the rear, and the B3 is at the rear end of this platform; the B3, like the A5, must stand, for it is up to these two chiefs to see that no one else stands up straight so that his head will be higher than the heads of the sowpeyti, that the people on the side platforms do not sit with their legs outstretched or apart, that their legs or skirts do not hang over the heavy beam (qtawt) forming the inner edge of the side platform, that everyone speaks quietly and does not use commoner speech, and that all maintain the various forms of respect due the sowpeyti.

The right platform in Matolenim, like Kiti* but unlike Net, is the female side, although the B2 and B3 and sometimes other men sit here too. The B2 is in charge of the division of the food, as the bearer of this title seems formerly to have been in all of Ponape in his capacity of chief priest. Whoever wishes to go out to fetch breadfruit or firewood must first get his permission, and the breadfruit picker or the axe must first be shown to him. After the baking of the food is finished it is brought to him in baskets and he pulls the slip-knot of hibiscus fiber which fastens the baskets shut; then (formerly) he prays to a deity; after this his assistants help him divide the food. Before this is done no food may go to the Nanmarki or Nanken.

Much of the foregoing is rarely seen today, and the seating arrangements are not always taken seriously. The praying by the B2 was his function as priest. The B4 is also said to have "blessed" food before the highest chief ate; he was the second priest.

In addition to the high chiefs a number of other persons are entitled to sit on the main platform of the nas. Among these is the Lepen morr in Matolenim, who is not a member of either ruling clan but owes his special position to certain feats performed in war by an ancient holder of the title. In Net the Lepen net and the Na:nsawsst titles, formerly belonging to the A1 and B1 chiefs but now bestowed on other men, still receive high honors along with the Nanmarki and Nanken titles which have replaced them. Also visitors from other wey take their places beside the high chiefs, regardless of the position of their titles if they

*But the sketch in Hambruch & Eilers (II, 17) of a feast in Wone (part of Kiti) shows the women on the left.

come in official status. Many of the kawn titles rank very high and may sit alongside the Nanmarki.

There is a tendency for the people who sit on the side platforms to arrange themselves by rank, those with higher titles sitting toward the front, the commoners toward the rear; but this is anything but a rigid ordering. Bascom (p.54) states that the Nanmarki and other chiefs in the A-line sit in order along one side of the house, while the Nanken and B-chiefs sit on the other, but neither informants nor observation bore this out; in fact, it would be impossible, for nearly all men of the A-line must be working in the na:nras when the Nanmarki is present. Other than this requirement there are no assigned positions for any of the lower title-holders in either line. There is only the faintest of resemblances to the kava circle of Western Polynesia.

When a titled man from one wey comes to a feast in another wey his clansmates, who are normally commoners in the second wey, move up closer to the front platform. If the visitor is a Nanmarki or Nanken, or comes as their representative, he sits facing forward on the main platform alongside the local sowpsyti; but if he has a lower title and is visiting for his own purposes he faces toward the sowpsyti.

Besides the seri:so the Nanmarki's sons-in-law, even if they belong to his own clan and thus have A-titles, may sit on the front platform (but not facing forward) if they wish. This is because like the seri:so they are con-

sidered as his children.

As noted previously (pp.65f) the A2 takes the Nanmarki's place when the latter is absent, the A3 takes it if both of his superiors are absent, and so on; similarly in the B-line the order of the series is followed. At a section feast, unless a person with a high wey title is present, the kawn takes the place of honor. If the A2 takes the Nanmarki's place the other members of the A-clan may move up closer to the front.

Only the highest seri:so, particularly the children of a Nanmarki or Nanken, may climb up at the rear ends (the ka:ra:tak en seri:so) of the two side platforms. Sons use the male side, daughters the female side. This custom is attributed to the similar behavior of the first Nanken of Matolenim in the legend of Isokalakal. The two front doors (wa:ni:m en Lanpo:ntam in Kiti, wa:nmeymey in Net) and the first side door on each side opening on to the main platform are reserved for the use of the sowpeyti. Male commoners and lower A-titles must come through the large rear entrance and climb on to the side platforms from the na:nras. Women of any rank may enter by the side doors on the female side platform, but on the male side the side doors may be used only by seri:so.

Feasting procedure and ceremonial

The preparation of the food at feasts is carried on in the na:nras of the nas. It is entirely the work of men. A number of stone ovens (u:m) are arranged in two parallel rows along the length of the na:nras. The u:m is not the same as the earth oven of other parts of Oceania but is a surface affair. On top of a layer of basalt rocks is piled firewood, then more rocks on top of this to make a dome-shaped structure. When the rocks are hot the u:m is taken apart with wooden tongs, the coals and ashes are raked out, and then the u:m is built up again over the food. The food is wrapped in leaves, but halved or quartered breadfruit are often placed directly on the bottom layer of hot stones. Then yams and any other vegetables being prepared are laid on the stones; over these are placed leaves, usually banana, and then the pig or pigs or other animals, followed by layers of more leaves--banana, yewyew, and coconut palm leaves are often used in successive layers, or sometimes old mats. The edges of the leaves around the oven may be weighted down to keep the steam in.

For carrying most small articles to feasts the carrying basket (ki:yam) made from a section of a coconut leaf is used. Articles may also be tied to each end of a carrying pole (i:ni) which is borne on one shoulder, or tied to its middle and carried on the shoulders of two men in file. A long basket (ki:yam ro:) made of the whole coconut leaf (payni, also used as the name of the basket) is carried slung

from a carrying pole with one man at each end. For large quantities of food a litter of wood (peykini) with coconut leaves laid over it is carried by six to ten men with two poles; such a contrivance can hold hundreds of breadfruit, ten or twenty bunches of bananas, twenty or thirty small yams, or five or ten pigs. In place of the litter a "nest" (pa:s) can be slung between two poles.

Articles carried to a feast are designated according to the number of men required to carry them. A one-man yam is a ká:ptapan, or if very small a ká:ptiktik. A kava bush small enough to be carried by one man is a sokaw kapeyk. A yam that requires two men is a key, while a kava plant of this size is a ro:. The term ro: may also be used for yams, but key is not used with kava. In Net key is applied to a yam that requires two to four men. For a yam or kava plant carried by four or more men (six or more in Net) the term applied is pa:s (the same as the carrying device). The number of men required for very heavy yams, as given by various informants, may run over thirty; one informant gives the hardly credible figure of fifty. In one case in December, 1947, at a funeral feast in Matolenim, a five-year old yam was carried in a pa:s by thirty men. Even two-year old yams are often large enough for a pa:s. The litter has considerable weight, and there is also a tendency to add superfluous porters in order to magnify the impression of opulence on the part of the donor of the yam; nevertheless such large yams must weigh several hundred pounds to require so many bearers. Though the writer had no scales to verify his guess

he judged the average weight of five two-man yams at one feast to be about eighty pounds, giving a figure of forty pounds per porter; even if this figure be cut in half for larger yams, a yam that required thirty porters would weigh six hundred pounds.

For distribution the large yams are broken up into their component tubers (kútor); there are usually two to ten tubers to a yam of the two-man size, depending on its kind.

Sugar-cane (sew) is brought to a feast either in single stalks or in a whole clump (unsew) joined at the roots, which is then divided into separate stalks. A single stalk is carried on a man's shoulder, the large clumps on litters. Like kava, sugar-cane is carried root foremost.

Pigs and dogs are brought to feasts slung under carrying poles with their legs tied over the poles with hibiscus fiber; or they may be brought on litters if there are several. The pole is slipped out and the animal is killed by stabbing in the heart with a machete; dogs may also be killed by having their throats cut. The hair is singed off by pulling the carcass back and forth over the hot stones scattered about when the stone oven is opened, or coconut leaf brands may be applied to it; then it is scraped with a machete. A single ventral slit is made and the entrails drawn.

Usually while the food is being prepared in the u:m one or two kava stones are pounded as sokaw en meysan (morning kava) or sokaw en amwátan (quick kava). Formerly these stones

would be on the main platform, and the kava from them was only for the Nanmarki, Nanken, and their attendants; but this is seldom seen nowadays; usually they are in the na:nras, just below the main platform. The hibiscus carrying pole on which a kava bush is brought for this early pounding is thrown out of one of the doors of the main platform.

In the middle of the main platform, built into the stone foundations, there was formerly a pit about six feet square and two feet deep (na:npés or na:npáras). Here a fire was kept burning from which was lit the fires for the stone ovens in the na:nras. Here too were the kava stones for the early pounding.

If sugar cane is brought it is carried by the women as well as the men, for sugar cane "is women's work." The litters are placed with the root ends of the canoe on the main platform, the other ends in the na:nras. One large litter is often shoved up into the rafters. The women who bear the sugar cane are much less inhibited than the men who follow them with kava, and do much whooping and giving the ululating yell (kátakatok) which is widespread in the Carolines, and occasionally breaking into solo dances. Some of the cane is cut up and distributed; the persons of high title present, male and female, get two pieces each, one of four sections and one of eight. The remainder of the cane is distributed whole, according to rank.

Following this the u:m are opened and their baked

contents removed and distributed according to rules described below. The kava is brought in, in a singing procession; special songs (ni:s en sɔkaw) are sung, interspersed by the blowing of tritons. The kava is placed on the main platform similarly to the sugar cane prior to the setting up of the kava pounding stones.

If dances are held at the feast the side platforms may be used or a special structure may be built out from them. But dances are seldom associated with the feasts nowadays.

After the food is distributed, the kava drunk, and the feast is over the portions of food are carried home, often to be re-cooked. The Nanmarki's share should be carried to his home by someone from the opposite line of titles, who takes commoners along to assist him. The wife of a generous Nanmarki then gives half of the food to the bearers, hence there are eager volunteers for this duty; a complaint against the present chiefs of Net is that they are too stingy to live up to this custom and their bearers go unrewarded.

The pig carcasses are taken from the opened u:m and brought up to the main platform to be cut up on coconut leaves. In Matolenim the pig is placed on its stomach prior to cutting. First the head is cut off, cutting from the left side. Then two longitudinal gashes are made along the loin, from neck to rump, first the left, then the right side. After this the pig is turned on its back and the left front leg, including the shoulder, is cut off; then the left rear leg; then a belly strip on the left side of the ventral slit.

Next the flank is sliced, from the ventral slit to the loin cut, into a number of pieces; these include the ribs. Then the whole operation is repeated for the right side. The remaining part, which is the back between the two loin cuts, is chopped into several portions.

Elsewhere than Matolenim the pig is placed on its back prior to cutting. Butchering procedure in Kiti is similar to that in Matolenim, though the writer has seen the two belly strips removed first, even before the head, and the flank sliced up after the front leg and before the rear leg are removed; this is in spite of the expressly stated procedure. Occasionally also the butchering begins with the right side. In Net the right side is the proper side to begin with, but if there are two men carving pigs at a feast one begins with the right side, the other with the left side.

In the preparation of a turtle the intestines are first removed without separating the carapaces and baked in the u:m without any container for some fifteen or twenty minutes. The baked intestines are considered a great delicacy, despite their overpowering odor. They are served on breadfruit leaves to the highest chiefs and their wives at a feast. The turtle itself is baked in the stone oven for about an hour; after it is removed from the oven the portion of the right (as observed in Net) front leg which protrudes from the shell is cut off, then the right rear, then the left front and left rear legs. After this the lower carapace is removed and a certain portion of the muscles behind the right foreleg is cut away, followed in order by the same portion from the left

foreleg. A large portion of the carcass is then removed from between the hind legs, followed by the large front shoulder muscles, and then what is left of the legs and shoulders themselves in the same order of right front, right rear, left ~~front~~, and left rear; with these portions comes most of the rest of the body of the turtle.

At a feast a turtle should be butchered before the pigs, so that it can be served hot; they are baked together in one oven. A large group of eager observers usually gathers around to watch the butchering, since it is considered a difficult job and there is much less opportunity to witness its execution than there is with pigs or even dogs.

A taro-leaf full of water formerly had to be nearby for washing the hands and the knife; nowadays any container is used. The palm leaves on which the butchering takes place are supposed to be thrown out of the doors leading into the front of the main platform; if they are bloody the side doors may be used. In Matolenim the breadfruit leaf platters upon which the portions of meat are placed have their stems attached, but elsewhere the stems are supposed to be removed. The men who cut up the pigs and distribute the parts are required not to wear shirts.

The official divider of the food, the sow en nene or sow ne (nene , to divide) is appointed to his task by the Nanmarki and Nanken. One man from each line of titles is officially appointed. The reason for this is that only a member of the opposite line may stand with his head higher than that of a high chief. At one feast on Kiti where the Nanmarki was present there was no man in the B-line present

who was considered skilled enough to undertake the job of sow ne, so the A3 functioned. But being in the same line as the Nanmarki he could not stand in his usual place on the main platform, for the Nanmarki was seated there. The na:nras was too full of kava pounding stones and people to permit him to stand there and function effectively. So he stood outside of the building, in the rain, and called out the titles of the recipients of the various portions from that position.

There are also two women, one from each line, who divide the women's share of the food. In the section there are likewise two functionaries, although their assumption of duties is more informal. In Net at a large feast the B2 and A4 function; at smaller feasts the Aw'n̄tols'r̄irin and the A6. These are not duties which adhere to the holders of these titles regardless of who is at any time occupying them but are often transferred to other men--although the B2, as chief priest, was anciently the chief functionary and tends to be so still. Until a few years ago the present Lépentelw̄r of Net was sow ne of that wey but proved unsatisfactory and was replaced by the Aw'n̄tols'r̄irin. It is considered a difficult and delicate job, for it is easy to offend a title-holder by not giving him a portion commensurate with his position.

In the division of the pig each man's portion is held up in up by the sow ne while he calls out the recipient's title. Thus the largest pig (at a feast where there are a number of pigs) is held up while the official calls "kónoŋ Nanmarki" loudly; the second largest pig is assigned to the

Nanken by a call of "sak Nanken." (kónoŋ and sak, referred to previously, are honorific terms for food, applicable to certain titles only). This procedure is called pwukɛpwuk. The pigs or portions of pigs are not handed over to the person designated but are taken by commoners to the rear of the nas and hung there in baskets from the main stringer. For men of lower titles portions are hung elsewhere in the rear of the building. The third portion which goes to the A2 (the wásay) is announced as wásay kápen kónoŋ." If the Nanmarki is not present the Nanken takes the first share and that of the A2 is called "sak wásay." It does not matter which sow ne apportions the food, but if he belongs to the Nanmarki line he cannot shout out the proper words, the sow ne of the Nanken line must do it instead; and likewise the official of the opposite line must function in this manner for the Nanken. The female functionaries call "púniyu ná:nalek" and "sak ná:nkeniyey" for the wives of Nanmarki and Nanken, and their baskets are also suspended.

In Kiti, if there are enough pigs, the order of division is as follows: Nanmarki, Nanken, Nanmarki's wife, Nanken's wife, chiefs A2, B2, A3, B3, A4, and B4, alternating thus between the A and B lines. Beyond this whole pigs are not distributed, only portions. Some of the section kawn and some of the priestly titles which rank high may disrupt this order; also, today, the A6, Oliver Nanpei, comes after the Nanken because of his special position as the wealthiest and most powerful man in ronape as well as his extra title of

Ro:sa, which is normally another title of the Nanmarki of Kiti but has been awarded to him. When Oliver attends a feast in U (where he is also A6) or Matolenim he receives first honors, ahead of even the Nanmarki or Nanken.

In Net the order of division is supposed to be Nanmarki, Nanken, Lépen nst, Ná:nsawst, A2, Sáwruko, Sáwlik en tawn, B2. This wey has apparently interspersed the old Net titles (see pp. 6f) with the new ones which have been copied after the other wey. But there has been disruption of this idea order; thus Sáwlik en tawn is a title which is supposed to belong to the A-line, but is now held by the Nanken himself as a secondary title; Lépen nst, who was formerly the A1 chief and belonged to clan 7 is nowadays a member of clan 6, hence in the B-line, so he follows the A2 in food distribution.

The order of division is also interrupted in all wey by the presence of visitors (to:'n kapá:r) who share very generously in the food distribution. If there are only two pigs and only one visitor from another wey is present he is supposed to get one of the pigs.

If there is only one large pig it goes entirely to the Nanmarki, except for the legs and ribs; the right (in Net) foreleg goes to the Nanken, the left foreleg to the Nanmarki's wife, the right hind leg to the Nanken's wife; the other leg and ribs go to lesser title-holders. But in such a case a benevolent -minded Nanmarki should tell the sow ne to divide his portion among the people. In Kiti the belly strip from the left side is laid on a leaf and put be-

fore the Nanmarki; he may redistribute it if he wishes. Another portion from the left side is similarly given the Nanken. In Net these portions to the Nanmarki and Nanken are ribs, from either side. These portions are apart from those received in the distribution procedure called pwukspwuk (see p. 210) for they are intended to be eaten at the feast; most of the rest of the meat is taken home and re-cooked, since there is actually little eating at a feast. Eating is considered improper when kava drinking, the principal activity at a feast, is in progress.

All the left (in Kiti) forelegs remain hung in baskets during the dividing; after the dividing is over they are taken down and the Nanmarki disposes of them as he pleases. He usually gives some to each of the first twelve titles in the two lines and divides what is left with the Nanken, taking his own share home. Besides the left forelegs the head belongs to the Nanmarki and the portion of the back immediately behind the neck to the Nanken.

Actual procedure varies widely. Records were kept of three feasts in Net; at one, out of three large and seven small pigs the Nanmarki received the head, back, and right foreleg and shoulder of the largest, and his wife the two hind legs; the Nanken, who is the Nanmarki's father, received one whole pig and another left foreleg, and his wife received two hind legs. This left only the remaining portions of one large pig and the seven small pigs for division among over eighty people. At a second feast, where some eighty or ninety people were present, the two largest pigs went to the Nanmarki

and Nanken, and a leg apiece from other pigs to their wives; three pigs were divided among the visitors from the other four wey; the remaining six pigs were left for the other people. At the third feast one whole pig was given alive to the Nanmarki as well as the head and back of the largest pig; one leg apiece from this pig went to the wives of the Nanmarki and Nanken; the second largest pig was given to the Nanken; four pigs were given to the visitors from the other four wey; three pigs were eaten; and the remaining five pigs and the remaining portions of the largest pig were divided among the rest of the people.

The sow ne is in theory autonomous so far as the performance of his duties is concerned, just as is the kava distributor (sow'n te sokaw). His job is to apportion the meat and vegetable food baked in the stone ovens and such food as sugar cane which does not have a high prestige value. The B2 of Net, who is the principal sow ne (and also sow'n te sokaw) of that wey, asserts that he would dispute with the Nanmarki or Nanken if they attempted to interfere with his proper functions; though at small gatherings the writer has seen chiefs of various ranks issuing sotto voce instructions to the man, appointed for the occasion, who did the dividing, or even countermanding an apportionment which displeased them. But over the uncooked yams, which are by far the largest part of the yams brought to a feast, the sow ne has no authority, other than to present one to the visitors from each of the four other wey. The other yams which are not cooked are all

presented to the Nanmarki and Nanken, and they retain or divide these as they please, telling the sow ne what to do with them, as well as with their rightful portions of the cooked articles. Hence there is considerable opportunity for generosity or niggardliness to make themselves evident, as there is with pigs. On this basis the five Nanmarki^s are ranked in the following descending scale of generosity according to public opinion: Kiti, U, Matolenim, Net, Sokas; and the Nankens as follows: Matolenim, Kiti, U, Net, Sokas. The Nanken of Matolenim is considered particularly generous, and keeps practically nothing for himself. At the other extreme the Nanmarki and Nanken of Net are noted for their greediness, which is held to stem from their acquaintance with western concepts of money economy. In Sokas most of the chiefs are out-islanders and do not follow ronapean feasting patterns.

The sow ne makes two primary divisions of all the uncooked yams, one heap being the Nanmarki's, the other the Nanken's. Then he further divides them according to the wishes of these two chiefs, the best and largest yams being retained by them. Men of lower titles in the A-line receive their shares from the Nanmarki's heap, those in the B-line from the Nanken's. Commoners receive what may be left over after this division.

However, commoners have a device for augmenting their meager portions, known as torr or toraka:p (torr, to seize; ka:p, yam). During the division the young people occasionally make a dash for the yams and seize what they can and carry it off. The sow ne will scold at them but usually only half-

heartedly, and the Nanmarki and Nanken "cannot scold because the yams will be planted and brought to another feast when they have grown." Most people are ashamed to do this sort of thing, but the elders will often whisper to their youngsters at the propitious moment to dash up and grab their share. The practice is generally frowned upon but the high chiefs, in their role of generous and paternalistic despots, are supposed to overlook it. A grievance against the Net chiefs is that they have forbidden the act. Torr applies only to yams, but a similar practice, known as sim, occurs at the death feasts, when the mourners, especially the women, suddenly swarm over all the feast goods and carry off both cooked and uncooked yams, kava, pigs, etc.

Cooked yams are distributed, for consumption, according to rank also. Visitors do not fare so well here as they do with uncooked, planting yams and with pork; at a feast in Kiti attended by the writer a basket of cooked yams apiece was presented to the Nanmarki, the A2, the B2, and to the A6 (Oliver Nanpei); the Nanken was absent. But the visitor from Sokas, the B3 of that wey, received only a single cooked yam, like other, lesser titles.

Kava

The kava pounders (the to:n wi:ya səkaw) are lesser A-titleholders and commoners. They use pounders (məl), consisting of cobble-stones large enough for one hand to grasp conveniently. The stones on which they pound are large, flat, basalt slabs (péytsl), irregularly shaped and three to five feet in diameter, propped off the ground by coconut husks which help to bring out the clear, bell-like tone produced during the pounding. Occasionally nowadays a sheet of iron is seen in use as a substitute. These stones are arranged in two rows in the na:nras of the nas, where most kava is made; but when kava is drunk privately the arrangements are much less formal and a stone might be set up outside of a dwelling or in a cook-house. It is the duty of a lesser man of title, the Sapatan saw, to clean the stones.

Pounding in the nas is done in unison and according to various rhythms. At one stone there normally are four men to do the pounding; two of these will pound wokpékit, which is a rocking motion of the hand, hitting alternately with each end of the stone projecting from the sides of the closed fist; the others pound témpil, a straight up-and-down motion. The term for pounding, sú:ksu:k, includes both of these beats, but Kiti informants apply it also to the method called wokpékit elsewhere. Témpil produces a sort of minor beat, heard throughout the strong, steady tempo of wokpékit; it is said to be not native in origin but an imitation of the sound produced by the coopers aboard the whaling vessels of the last century; it is

used when there are a large number of kava stones being pounded.

The pounding, as observed in Net, begins with réyti, a four-note beat consisting of three short and one long beats; this is done only once, on the bare stone, then there is a short pause, then pounding of the root begins in earnest, with some of the men pounding témpil, some wokpékit, on each of the stones. When the kava roots are well pounded another tempo begins called sokemáw; this consists of three pairs of short beats followed by slow single beats which quicken rapidly and continue for a variable length of time, depending on the degree of maceration of the kava. This is repeated three times more, making four such rythms in all, but the third time four instead of three pairs of short beats are often heard. Sokemáw is the signal whereby people outside the nas know that the kava is ready and that the Nanmarki is within. When the kava is all pounded there is a final rhythm called kó:ti; this is again on the bare stone and consists of seven rapid beats, followed by a short pause, two rapid beats, another pause, two long beats, a pause, two rapid, and one long. After this the wringing out of the kava begins. In Kiti the reyti rhythm ends the pounding.* In Awak, U, the final rhythm is called pétiti, but it was not ascertained whether this is the same rhythm as that called kó:ti in Net; if the Nanmarki and Nanken are still in their homes when the pounding is almost finished the kava makers pound réyti, the beginning rhythm, until these men appear, then they pound pétiti;**to hurry the men

*Hambruch & Eilers (II, 246) likewise call this "Schlussmusik."

**Ibid; the reference here is "Eingangsmusik."

men who have been dispatched to get strips of hibiscus bast, should the kava be almost ready, they pound a beat called pəpayn. (But Net informants deny any special rhythm to make the hibiscus gatherers hurry.) There are said to have been special rhythms when kava was made for drinking by a shaman prior to his becoming possessed by a spirit and also on various religious occasions.

All of the foregoing is directed by the leader of the kava ritual, the sow'n tɛ səkaw, who stands on the main platform of the nas and calls out the various stages; for example, he will call out "kó:ti" and at the same time signal by dropping his arm from its raised position. There is no leading of the actual rhythm, the pounders taking up the tempo from each other (or, at least in Matolenim, from a particular stone); but one of the pounders sometimes signals for the final long beat.

There are said to have been various rhythms for playing on the Ponapean drum (ayp) for different ceremonies, including the kava ritual. These, along with the drum, are long extinct.

While the kava is being pounded a party of men have been dispatched to gather hibiscus bast, tipenkelaw. If they are late in returning the sow'n tɛ səkaw calls to a man who has been stationed at the central pole of the rear entrance to the nas, and this man (in Matolenim) calls to the laggards, "ko:teylən, ko:teymaw, koma: tápa kito tipenkelaw." This does not bear literal translation, being in antique phrase-



A. Th^e Community House (nas).

B. Placing the pounded
kava on the hibiscus
bast strips.



ology, but is approximately "Come, come, you hurry and bring the hibiscus bast." The men answer, "nintálawa ninpálawa ninpáleyu, yst se somweyr," the last portion of this meaning, "Here we come."* An U informant states that the man who does the calling out must be a seri:so chief, since only seri:so can raise their voices at a public assemblage, and he stands in the sawn, the space behind the rear opening of the nas; the call in U is given as "ninpálawa nikónseyew nipóykot;" this is largely untranslatable.

When the hibiscus is brought the bast is stripped off and distributed among the pounders. Generally two bundles of bast, three or four feet long and secured by a knot in the middle, are apportioned to each stone. The bast is combed out with the fingers and the bundle of bast strips, called ni:makale, is laid out flat on the stone; then the pounded kava is heaped along the surface of the bast and two of the pounders each take one of the bundles, twist the ends so as to enclose the kava in a cylinder of bast, then raise it above the stone and wring it out tightly, with considerable muscular exertion, over a half-coconut shell,

paramar.** This is held by one of the other pounders to catch

*The second word, ninpálawa, is said to refer to i:nepal, the cloth from the base of the coconut leaf, which is used in wringing out infusions of medicines today and supposedly was also used for kava anciently instead of the hibiscus bast used today.

**A half coconut shell is used as a container for all sorts of liquids, especially of medicines, but except when it is used for kava it is called a po:ntal. These kava cups are highly polished with a stone. Occasionally a china bowl is used nowadays, but informants say the flavor in such a case is inferior.



A. On the left, wringing out the kava into half coconut shells. On the right, combing out the hibiscus bast.



B. On the left, wringing out the kava. On the right, twisting up a hibiscus bast cylinder before wringing.

the streams of kava which run out. The two men who hold these cups are called lopeyk and sowpeyk. When not in use the cups are kept in a towlon, which is a stick of hibiscus driven in the ground close by the stone, split in four from the upper end to about its middle, with two wedges to hold the four parts separate so that the vessel can rest in the spread upper end. There is no special bowl, as in Western Polynesia, nor any formal motions in straining and wringing.

Most of the foregoing applies only to a feast of considerable size; ordinarily some of the formalities are dispensed with.

The water added to the pounded kava from time to time is dispensed with another half-coconut shell, which is replenished by dipping into a bucket or other vessel (formerly the Fonapean wooden kásak) containing water; although the stone on which the pounding is done is flat there is little spilling over its edges, for the shredded roots absorb most of the water. During the wringing out some of the expressed kava juice does not flow into the cup but falls back into the heap of pounded material; but there is no loss here, since all of it will be wrung out eventually.

There is a considerable development of special vocabulary and honorifics in connection with the use of kava. During the pounding should some bits of kava root spray in the direction of the Nanmarki it is called tiper en lon; if they fly in the opposite direction the term used is tiper en mas; if sideways, tiper en pwel; there are two other terms, signifying other directions, but forgotten by informants. The stream of kava from

the bast wringers is called kapáyrek; should it flow from the upper side of the fist it is called tíxatín ("drops") én kapayrek; should it flow from the lower side it is kərakər ("flow") én kapayrek. When a man receives kava from the Nanmarki to take home it is called lipwənpweniyá:l. The ordinary name for the housefly is lən, but if one should fall into the vessel of kava it is called sówtol; and should a second fly fall in it is given the name tolákati. Only the workers on the kava or the man who presents the vessel to the Nanmarki may remove the fly.

The kava plants, in the complete development of the ceremonial, are brought to the community house in a procession of men singing a type of song called xi:s; they are brought up to the main platform where the Nanmarki sits, and placed there with the roots and ends of the carrying poles and litters on the platform, the branches down in the na:nras.

The bushes are frequently decorated with ornamental plants. Large bushes carried on a litter may have a stalk of croton or breadfruit inserted in them. A fern-like plant (tenlik) which climbs on kava branches is artificially encouraged on the growing bush by tying it on the new shoots annually. A man is proud of a kava plant which he brings to a feast when each branch (very old plants may have as many as 100 or 150 branches) bears this fern. The practice, of course, is somewhat akin to that of adding unnecessary bearers to a litter in order to exaggerate the apparent weight of the yam, kava plant, or whatever object of prestige value is being carried; people consider it as evidence of a man's wealth to be able to keep a kava bush till it is very old.

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When the plants are removed from the main platform to be pounded the roots are cut off and the stems taken away for replanting. The earth is knocked off the roots but there is no washing. One bush was formerly placed whole in the beams above the main platform as an offering to the spirit of the building, and no one might remove it except the máreke:tik ("little Nanmarki," Al2 to Al6 in different wey), who alone has the privilege of reaching for it above the Nanmarki's head. But this is seldom seen nowadays.

The cut-up roots are placed on the pounding stones and at a large feast they are covered over with taro leaves until the signal is given to begin pounding. The taro leaves are then placed on the ground around the stone so that any kava which falls on them will not get dirty.

Each pressing from the pounded kava has its distinctive name. (This is apart from the early kava mentioned previously). These are as follows:

1. pwel en sɔkaw
2. are (second) en sɔkaw
3. esil (third) en sɔkaw
4. apɔŋ (fourth) en sɔkaw

Thus far various informants are in agreement. In Wone (the eastern part of Kiti) and some other places the fourth stage is kapá:rek instead of apɔŋ; this difference is attributed to the deposing of the Nanmarki of Kiti in a war with pálon (section 35)

and his subsequent replacement by the Sawkisa of Wons who in turn defeated pálon.

The workers on the stone ovens occupy the rear part of the community house and only the first two stones in each row are active in the preliminary kava preparation; these stages are collectively called áwtita, and begin with pwel en səkaw. After the ovens are opened and the food divided the other stones are set up and the first stones throw away their old kava root and join the others in a second series of stages, called áwtsepəl, beginning again with pwel en səkaw.

In Kiti the kava ritual proceeds as follows. At pwel en səkaw all of the cups, one from each stone, go to the Nanmarki; he drinks the one from the main stone, the sóməl, and directs that the others be given to other titled men and to his attendants, beginning with the A2 but without particular concern with order of rank thereafter; the A2, being in the A-line, may not get on the main platform to drink but stands in the na:nras at the wall of the platform. The second cups, are en səkaw, go to the Nanken; he drinks the first of these, presents the second to the Nanmarki, and divides the others among the other titled men, in no particular order. The third cups, esil en səkaw, go to the Nanmarki and Nanken; the fourth, kapá:rek or apən, to the wife of the Nanmarki who distributes them to the wives of other high chiefs.

The next four pressings are collectively called sápwe. The first of these goes again to the Nanmarki and is considered equivalent to the first pressing, pwel en səkaw;

the second goes to the Nanken, the third to the Nanmarki's wife, and the fourth, called lôpwin or wôŋ (to wring) lôpwin, to the Nanmarki again. lôpwin is the name of a ball of macerated kava root set aside before sápwe begins, a little of which is added to each subsequent wringing.

There is no pounding again until sápwe is over. The second pounding is called kôpur sôkaw. A small part of the pounded root is put aside before the wringing from this second pounding begins; this is called lú:wala. All the cups given to the Nanmarki after lôpwin are now called lu:(remainder) or wôŋ lu:. When the Nanmarki signifies that he has had enough the lú:wala is put into the hibiscus wringer and this cup, given to the Nanmarki, is called lú:wala en sôkaw. When all is finished it is called koti:ɔ, but this term, in Kiti, does not seem to apply to a particular cup of kava. After the Nanmarki leaves the commoners may drink all they wish, but the formality and the naming of the cups is dispensed with.

In Matolenim the fourth stage, apôŋ en sôkaw, is followed by lôpwin, made from the portion of kava root put aside at the beginning; then comes kop,* then lu:. After this, when the wrung-out kava is too weak in flavor to be drunk, the sow'n tɛ sôkaw calls out "awtsəpal" (as he does in Kiti too) and fresh roots are brought up for another pounding. When this also becomes weak the sowh tɛ sôkaw calls "wôŋ par" and this cup is followed by koti:ɔ, the last cup, which is brought to the Nanmarki.

In Net, pwel en sôkaw goes to the Nanmarki and Nanken, arɛ en sôkaw goes to the wives of the highest chiefs, esil en sôkaw to the A2 and B2, and apôŋ en sôkaw again to the Nanmarki and Nanken. The fifth stage is called álim (fifth) en sôkaw

*Hambruch and Eilers (II, 246) refer to this as the last cup from the first pounding.

and goes to the wives of the Nanmarki and Nanken and other noble women. The sixth is awn (sixth) en səkaw or tipenkelaw, and goes to the kava pounders. The seventh is wəŋ ləpwin, and goes again to the Nanmarki; the eighth, wəŋ kəp, and the ninth, wəŋ lu:, also go to the Nanmarki. Between stages six and seven, seven and eight, eight and nine, and after stage nine, there is also general drinking by the commoners. Awtsepəl follows, with fresh kava, if the Nanmarki is still present; otherwise there is general drinking but without ritual pounding or calling out of the stages.

There is no passing of the kava cup from one man to another; a man drinks and hands the cup back to his attendant, to be refilled and passed to another. A man who can drink a whole cupful is greatly admired. It is considered good form to refuse a cup of kava when it is first offered and to point out someone else as the proper recipient, in keeping with the Ponapean pattern of modesty. This explains the failure of any rigid sequence of serving to develop. There is no knowledge of any chewing of the root, nor of the use of a kava bowl; the liquid is strained directly into the cup from the wringer. The root is not dried, as in parts of Polynesia, but is used fresh and pounded with whatever earth adheres.

The sow'n tē səkaw is usually a man of high title; in Net nowadays the B2 is because of his abilities designated for the job, but it does not seem that there is a connection with a particular title. In Matolenim he is said always to have a lesser seri:so (B-line chief). The major requirement is that he be well-informed on the proper procedure. He may not sit but stands all day at the central rear post of the main platform with his back to the notables sitting on this platform and facing the workers,

and calls out the various steps in the kava ritual; there is no prompting from any of the chiefs behind him. If someone drinks without his permission he can knock the cup out of the man's hands; if any faux pas occurs he scolds the guilty person publicly. A person called up from the na:nras to drink a cupful must come promptly. The filled cup is supposed to be passed up to him by the kava pounders and he distributes it according to a sequence which as detailed above differs from one way to another. In U he gives the cup direct to the Nanmarki, but elsewhere he gives it to one of the attendants sitting around the Nanmarki who passes it on to the latter. (The writer, however, has frequently seen one of the pounders pass a cup direct to an attendant instead of to the sow'n ts sɔkaw.)

In Kiti the cups brought to the Nanmarki are said to be from the stone called the somɔl, which is located in the front of and at the middle of the na:nras, below the middle rear post of the main platform; to each side of it there is another stone, each of which is the first of a row of stones extending to the rear of the building. The writer, however, saw no somɔl in use at any of the feasts he attended. One Kiti informant states that the somɔl was on the rear edge of the front platform, to the right of center from the Nanmarki's point of view; and to the left of center was another stone, the konaku. At competitive feasts each of these two stones would be manned by the leaders of the opposing sides, and they would be operated while the na:nras was filled with stone ovens; later, when the ovens were cleared away, the conventional double row of kava stones would be set up. Matolenim informants calls the principal stone the upeylɔɔ, and locate it on the main platform, at its center and rearmost portion; if there are two steps in this platform (or three, as in Sokas) it is on the lowest

and rearmost one. In the na:nras and close to the main platform in Matolenim are two stones which are the first of the two rows previously mentioned; the one to the right (looking toward the rear) is the kōnaku, and this is considered the Nanken's stone, just as the upeylon is the Nanmarki's; the stone to the left is the upeyu, and belongs to the lower chiefs. The second stone in the left row is somewhat closer to the left platform than the others in that row and is called upeymwaw; this stone is said to lead all the others in the pounding; when the sow'n tē sōkaw calls to the upeymwaw to bring kava to the front platform all the others follow the lead. None of the other stones have special names.

The stones used as pounders on the upeylon are in Matolenim called mōleylon and mōlessankatāw; the ones for the kōnaku are sāyri:ya and kāteri:ya. None of the other pounders have names.

The Role of Kava

There are several versions of the legendary origin of kava. One of them attributes the discovery to a rat, which nibbled at the root and whose actions when under the influence of the plant were observed; this legend is found also in Western Polynesia, Fiji, and on Pentecost in the New Hebrides. Another gives credit to a native of section 10, in U, named Wú:tanenjar who when an old man was taken by the god Lu:k to a mythical land in the south, Ayr, where he became young again and shed the

skin off his foot-sole; the skin grew into a kava plant a bit of whose root, pounded in heaven, fell to earth in section 10 and started a kava bush there. Another version combines both themes. Hambruch gives a different story, omitting these, and Christian records a tradition of an importation of kava from Kusaie.

Kava was very important in the native religion. Diviners would diagnose illness and forecast the future by scrying into a vessel of kava; the practice is nearly extinct today, however. Shamans, just before becoming possessed, would squat and hold a cup of kava aloft in both hands and mutter prayers and rituals; priests also would offer kava to the gods in this manner. This offering to spirits and gods was known as sápsəkaw.* Sápsəkaw is said still to be offered by fishermen, who, along with the native doctors, have retained native religious practices more than any other group. A fisherman, the evening before going fishing and also after his return, would drink kava and hold the cup in the fashion described while uttering his prayers to the various fishing deities.

Kava is also part of the ritual of inauguration into a higher title; generally a cup of the drink is presented as sápsəkaw by the Nanken at the promotion feast of someone below the rank of Nanmarki or Nanken. The place of kava in prestige competition has already been referred to. It is also the greatest inducement to a chief to whom a feast of propitiation for some offense is offered; a Nanmarki or Nanken is supposed not to be able

*Gulick, (p.6), gives also the term áuramēi, to prepare a vessel of kava "by the first expression of juice into it (a sort of dedication, though unattended by religious ceremonies)."

to resist a cup of kava offered him on such an occasion, though he may reject it at first. In the words of the Nanken of Net, "kava is our treasure."

Kava was and still is to a considerable extent considered to be associated with nobility of blood. Formerly nobles considered drinking of kava a prerogative of theirs, and no commoner could drink it by himself, but had to present first fruits to the high chiefs in order to be able to drink with them. A few section chiefs, those who were of the family of the Nanmarki or Nanken, were permitted to drink alone, but even this was rare; also in the case of an elder sister of a Nanmarki or Nanken, or a clansmate senior to them, or a son of either, people might come and drink with them in the absence of the Nanmarki and Nanken. Women of very high status could drink as much as they pleased, but to other women kava was practically forbidden. Some of the priests might drink alone; in Net only the Krow en tóropop, who was the priest at a regular celebration to the god Táwkataw, could drink kava (and eat turtle, in the absence of a high chief. Kava was one of the objects which was required to be presented to a chief as his due; banishment befell him who neglected this duty. The secrecy with which commoners had to drink if they intended to deceive the chiefs by not making an offering is expressed by the saying "ta:kay en wel" meaning "stone wilderness," the implication being that it was necessary to secrete oneself in the woods to achieve this purpose.

Those men who are regular kava drinkers eat nothing before partaking; it is said that commoners may eat, but that sowpayti must drink kava before eating. At most feasts a little

food (kpsokaw) is served before the kava is prepared; this is eaten by the non-indulgers* and the moderate drinkers. After each drink something is taken to palliate the unpleasant after-taste; this may be a sip of water, a morsel of pineapple, rawfish, or sugar-cane, a puff at a cigarette, or any of a large number of other things. Whether the drink induces salivation or because of the disagreeable taste, many persons find it necessary to spit frequently between draughts; cracks between floor boards are used for this purpose. The slime from the fresh hibiscus bast used as a strainer also produces spitting. The immediate effect of the drink is a numbing of the lips and tongue; speech becomes thick, though the head remains clear. Eventually control is lost of the lower limbs, and men who have over-indulged must be carried home. After returning from kava drinking to one's house food is eaten in ample quantities but it must be eaten slowly to experience the full effect of the kava. The result is a deep and sound sleep. The next morning, while some persons seem to remain unaffected, others complain of a hangover, have little appetite, and slight noises seem to be intolerably magnified in volume. The writer observed none of the effects on the eyes and skin attributed to intemperate use of kava in parts of Polynesia; it is possible that the Ponapean variety of the plant results in a weaker drink, as one native who has been in Hawaii maintains. Natives believe that kava is beneficial to the health, and that heavy drinkers do not contract gonorrhea; whether this is an aboriginal belief was not verified, and it is possible that they acquired the idea from the Germans, who listed kava in their pharmacopoeia, or the Japanese, who are said to have

*The Christian Endeavor movement has made a considerable number of converts among the Protestants; its members are pledged not to dance, smoke, or drink.

manufactured pills from kava as a specific against gonorrhea. The Japanese are supposed to have bought several thousand yen worth of kava annually for shipment to Osaka to be reduced to pills; one native chief states that he sold 540 yen worth in one sale. Some of the pills found their way back to Ponape for sale to the Japanese there. Dr. Girschner, the physician on Ponape in German times, is said to have drunk kava every time the ship arrived, which it did semi-annually, in the belief that it prevented the cough which the ship would bring. Hambruch and Eilers (II, 64) state that kava was taken as an abortifacient, but informants deny this.

Few people have much kava nowadays. It does not grow everywhere, but it is easy to tend; it is only necessary to clean around it once a month. The plant is sown from cuttings, usually from the young branches of an old bush brought to a feast. The cuttings are made two joints long if the branch is more than an inch in diameter, four joints if less; they are severed diagonally, between the nodes. They are planted about one yard apart in ground prepared first with a digging stick and cleared; later they are thinned out to two or more yards; but single plants may be seen sometimes growing in a thicket of other species of plants. The cutting is stuck into the ground somewhat diagonally to bury one node. Usually two cuttings are planted in the same spot to produce a large plant. If they cannot be planted the same day that they are cut they are bound into bundles and soaked in water by day, left in the grass at night. A kava garden is called a ka:menson. A small one contains a hundred plants, a large one five or six

hundred. A large garden is a great source of pride, but is usually kept very secret, for fear of witchcraft which will cause the plants to dry up.

The missionaries made a determined effort to eradicate the plant, but succeeded only partially, and without the permanent results they achieved on the only other Micronesian island which had kava, Kusaie. One Nanmarki convert uprooted large quantities of the plant, but after his time its use revived. Christian reports that Joe Kehoe, the American trader in the 1880's and 1890's, exported kava to Fiji. In Japanese times, and especially in the war years, there was little time to spend on kava feasts and on cultivating the plant, hence the present scarcity. During the war a large bush of kava, large enough to be carried by ten men, was worth one hundred yen. Many people nowadays buy kava for use at feasts or privately. Enough kava for one pounding-stone, which would be about half of an average bush, sells for five dollars; a large bush is enough for five to ten stones, and is worth \$50 or more. Twenty people can drink from the kava produced at one stone the whole evening.

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

Terminology

The ronapean kinship system is highly classificatory in the application of the denotative terms. The cousin terminology is a modified Crow type. In the following list of terms the primary meaning is given first, the extended meanings next.

1. *símey*. Father; father's brother; father's male parallel cousin of either type; spouse's father; spouse's father's brother; spouse's mother's brother; father's sister's husband; mother's sister's husband; spouse's father's sister's husband; spouse's mother's sister's husband; father's sister's son; spouse's father's sister's son; father's father's sister's son.

2. *í:ney*. M & F speaking: mother; mother's sister; father's sister; mother's female parallel cousins of either type; father's female parallel cousins of either type; mother's brother's wife; father's brother's wife; father's sister's daughter; father's sister's son's wife.

F speaking: husband's mother; husband's mother's sister; husband's father's sister; husband's mother's brother's wife; husband's father's brother's wife.

3. *símey ká:lap*. Father's father; mother's father; spouse's father's father; spouse's mother's father; father's mother's brother.

4. *í:ney ká:lap*. Father's father; mother's father;

4. i:ney ká:lap. Father's mother; mother's mother; spouse's father's mother; spouse's mother's mother.

5. ney. M & F speaking: child; brother's child; child of maleparallel cousin of either type; grandchildren and great-grandchildren of all types; son's wife; mother's brother's child; mother's brother's child's spouse; spouse's mother's brother's child.

M speaking: daughter's husband; sibling's daughter's husband; wife's sibling's daughter's husband; sister's son's child.

F speaking: sister's child; sister's child's child; child of female parallel cousin of either type.

6. sáwlap. M speaking: wife's mother; wife's mother's sister; wife's father's sister; wife's mother's brother's wife; wife's father's brother's wife; apparently all women called by wife i:ney (term 2) except those called so because of marriage to him.

F speaking: daughter's husband; sister's daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; husband's sister's daughter's husband; husband's brother's daughter's husband; apparently husband of all female relatives called by herself ney (term 5).

7. ú:lap. Mother's brother; mother's male parallel cousins of either type; mother's mother's brother.

8. wá:wa. M speaking only: sister's child; sister's daughter's child; child of female parallel cousin of either type.

9. pawt. Spouse; apparently any clansmate of spouse of same sex as spouse except those included in term 6.

10. wa:liniyep. M speaking: brother's wife; brother's wife's sister; wife of male parallel cousins of either type; sisters of these; wife's sister; wife's female parallel cousins of either type; sister's husband's sister; any female of wife's clan except those included in term 6.

F speaking: sister's husband; sister's husband's brother; husband of female parallel cousins of either type; brothers of these; husband's brother; husband's male parallel cousins of either type; brother's wife's brother; any male of husband's clan unless he is included in term 6.

11. mwa. M speaking: sister's husband; sister's husband's brother; husband of female parallel cousin of either type; brothers of these; wife's brother; wife's male parallel cousins of either type; brother's wife's brother.

F speaking: brother's wife; brother's wife's sister; wife of male parallel cousin of either type; sisters of these; husband's sister; husband's female parallel cousins of either type; sister's husband's sister.

12. ri:ey wol. M & F speaking: brother; male parallel cousins of either type.

F speaking: husband's sister's husband; husband of female parallel cousin of husband; possibly husband of any woman called mwa (term 11).

13. ri:ey li. M & F speaking: sister; female parallel cousins of either type.

M speaking: wife's brother's wife; wife of male parallel cousin of wife; possibly wife of any man called mwa (term 11).

14. wa'nolpi:ri:yen ("fruit of male siblings").

Child of father's brother.

15. wa'nli:pi:ri:yen ("fruit of female siblings").

Child of mother's sister; mother's mother's sister's daughter's child.

The terms as given are spelled according to the Net and U dialect. Where not otherwise indicated below they serve for both reference and address. Terms 1-5, 12, and 13 are given in first person possessive (the ey suffixes) since they do not occur uninflected; except that a form of term 1 (sa:m) may be used in describing someone to be the father of someone else when neither of them is present.* An alternative form for term 1 is pa:pa:, and for term 2 no:no:; these may also be used in the grandparental terms (3 and 4). Pa:pa: and no:no: are more popular in address than terms 1 and 2.** Terms 1 and 2 may be used in place of terms 3 and 4. Reciprocally to terms 3 and 4, grandchildren may be called seri (child) ka:lap, using the grandparental suffix, though the usual form is term 5.

Term 5 means simply "mine." It is often followed by seri (child), serip̄tyn (daughter), serimá:n (son), or pú:tak (boy). Informants in U prefer ney pú:tak for a grown son, ney serip̄tyn for a grown daughter, ney seri for a young child of

*The Nanken of Net, however, gives a theoretical explanation which is not verified by the genealogies: term 1 is applied only to the actual father and the spouse's father in address; sa:m is used in address to the father's brother, father's parallel cousins of both types, and father's sister's son. The female counterparts are term 2 and i:n. The reciprocal form to sa:m and i:n, in place of ney (term 5) or ney seri, is ney.
 **Though pa:pa: looks suspiciously like a missionary introduction and informants express doubt as to whether it is native, it is listed in O'Connell's vocabulary, collected 1826-33.

either sex. These are terms of both reference and address, but if the child is not present he or she may also be referred to as esóts. A term of address used affectionately for children is sá:ma.

Terms for classificatory sibling relationships (12 and 13) may be suffixed by lawtsáñiyey if the parent of the person addressed is older than the parent of the speaker: the two parents concerned being the persons through whom the sibling relationship is traced. Similarly, tikesáñiyey is the suffix if the age relationship is reversed. An actual sibling may also have the suffixes lap (big) or lawt (old) and tik or tiketik (small) added, depending on relative age. Equivalent suffixes are melap, melawt, and melapsáñiyey for older siblings; and for younger, metik and metikesáñiyey. A youngest sibling may have the suffix metikela added to term 12 or 13.

Some informants use rí:ey wol (term 12) only for a grown brother, using rí:ey pú:tak if he is a child; and for a sister, pételi if she is grown, rí:ey li (term 13) if she is a child.

Terms 7 and 8 may also be followed by suffixes. A person calls his or her mother's younger brother ú:laptik if he wishes, and the reciprocal term is wa:wa:lap; the mother's elder brother may be called ú:laplawt, and the reciprocal is wa:wa:tik.

Some U informants distinguish two forms of term 11; mwa is for address, mwaki for reference.

In many cases term 9 may be substituted for term 10. This is true, for example, of one's parallel cousin's spouse of opposite sex to oneself. In place of term 10, nak may be used for those females who are in the same clan as the wife; the word means literally "remnant," "something not used" but left over to be used if the wife should die. Nak is used for both reference and address. Term 10 for the wife's sister is used in address only in joking, especially if she is married, for it has strong sexual connotations and often brought snickers to informants relating genealogies. In reference, term 10 is used only between good friends. The most polite form is kisen cy pawt (relative of my wife) for reference, the name or title for address; and for the brother's wife, the name or ri:cy a: pawt ("my-sibling his wife") for both reference and address. Women do not use term 10 at all in speech, but "use it in thought."

Term 10, according to one Net informant, should be restricted to persons of opposite sex who are members of a single clan; therefore, strictly speaking, a brother's wife, unless she is of the same clan as one's own wife, ought not to be included but should be called by term 9. Another Net informant, on the same grounds, denies that a woman's female wa'nolpi:ri:ysn (term 14) may be called by term 10 by the woman's husband, or that a man's male wa'nolpi:ri:ysn may be called by term 10 by the man's wife. Nevertheless, in the genealogies from U and Matolenim the term is so extended.

For the spouse of a person of the same sex as the

speaker in relationship 14 either sy pawt (term 9) or sy wa:liniye p (term 10) is proper in address; for reference the best form is a:t (our) pawt in speaking to her husband.

Terms 12 and 13 may both be used for term 14 or for term 15. For a person of opposite sex to the speaker in the relationship expressed by term 14, terms 12 and 13 are the only proper forms of address; for reference they may also be used but term 14 is preferred.

Though cross-cousins are designated by parental or filial terms, wa'npɪ:ri:yən ("fruit of siblings") is also acceptable. An alternative is i:sowɛ (some informants make this i:sow) for reference, but this appears to be restricted to the two ruling clans.

A first-born child of either sex is a messni or mo:n néytik. These may be followed by the various words for "boy" or "girl." The terms are also applied to a sibling's first-born, except for a man's sister's child (term 8). An elder sibling's first born can be called ney'n ri:ey pú:tak (or seripəyn) lawt mo:n néytik, "child of my-sibling boy (or girl) old first born," literally; messni may be used in place of mo:n néytik in this phrase. Other children of an older sibling are similarly designated but with seri (child) in place of mo:n néytik. Children of a younger sibling (except of a man's sister) are called by the same phrase but with tik (small) in place of lawt (old). For any of these nepotie terms wánati is also acceptable, though rarely heard. An only child is iyerəs.*

*A Kiti informant restricts this term to the son of an i:pwinpo:nwárawar (see pp. 15f).

Any number of additional descriptive terms may be used in compound form. For example, the father's mother's brother (i.e., the father's ú:lap, term 7) instead of being called by term 3 may be called ú:lap en pa:pa: if it is desired to make his exact relationship clear. A father's brother may be called ri:en sémey ol (literally, sibling-of my-father male) instead of by term 1; and his wife may be called en ri:en sémey a: pawt (literally, of sibling-of ^{my-}father his wife) instead of by term 2.

A man and a woman whose respective spouses are siblings are referred to as mo:t péna po:n á:lek ápot ("sitting together upon a Saccharum spontaneum"); this phrase can be used in reference as a kinship term.

A number of terms displace others when there is conflict in their use, though the compound descriptive terms may also be used in that event. Thus a man's wife's father is normally called by term 1, but in a case where he is also the mother's mother's sister's daughter's son term 15 is used instead. In the reciprocal relationship term 15 displaces term 5.

Term 5 displaces term 6 and term 10. A man's wife's mother (term 6) who is also the wife of his mother's mother's sister's daughter's son (term 10) is called by term 5 as the daughter of a man who stands in the relationship of term 7. In the reciprocal relationship term 1 overrides terms 6 and 10.

Term 5 also displaces term 11. A man's wife's brother (term 11) is called by term 5 as the son of the woman just referred to, herself called by term 5. In the reciprocal relationship term 1 displaces term 11.

Term 7 may displace term 3. A man's wife's mother's father (term 3) is called by term 7 when he stands in that relationship also. In the reciprocal relationship term 8 displaces term 5.

Kinship Behavior

Respect attitudes and prohibited sexual relationships are encompassed by the term pəl. The word is applied also to sacred places and objects, as a ruin, a tabooed stone, or a large seine which is conceived to contain a powerful spirit. pəl is in force between siblings and clansmates of opposite sex, between persons who call each other by term 6, and between a man and a woman who have married a sister and brother and are called mo:t pēna po:n á:lek ápot. The same term is applied between mwa (term 11) even though these are of the same sex. Stronger than the pəl between a brother and sister is that between wa'n li:pi:ri:yen (term 15) of opposite sex, especially those born between the same two high tides, hence reckoned to be of the same age; for a brother and sister cannot be that close in age, hence cannot feel the same respect for each other.

Incest is known as kilikilón su:wit (to gaze sinfully), the phrase used when the prohibited relationship exists between clansmates. But between siblings or between wa'nli:pi:ri:yen a stronger term is used, li:kónkón áni:mat (to eat stinking ghost). There is no pəl ordinarily between people of different sub-clans of the same clan, only a prohibition to marry or commit incest. In any of these cases incest was formerly punished by execution.

Though incest is prohibited between people who call each other by parental-filial terms (except for cross-cousins), pəl is not used for such a relationship, since there is no avoidance and few restrictions on conversational themes. This applies in lesser degree to father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

Brother and sister practice mutual avoidance. Formerly they could not even talk to one another; today the restriction is against talking in loud tones to each other or in each other's presence; a violation of this custom merits a rebuke from anyone else present. Girls nowadays seldom get off the path or sit down when they see a brother coming, nor are they so careful to cover their knees; this, however, may be due to the decline of tattooing, since the "sacred tattoo" (intix saráwi), a square decoration just above the knee on females, which was never supposed to be exposed before prohibited males, is no longer made. But brothers and sisters still may not joke together and they still avert their gaze when they meet. Siblings of opposite sex formerly could not sleep in the same house after they reached puberty; today the prohibition applies to the same room, not house; but after both are married the custom is relaxed. Before semi-castration was outlawed, under the Germans, if a recently castrated youth saw his sister approaching on the path and there was blood running down his leg he would give himself a fresh gash on the thigh in order to pretend that this was the source of the bleeding.

Avoidance patterns include not coming near the house where the sibling is, in order not to overhear profane language.

Brother and sister are not supposed to meet on occasions of feasts or meetings, but hide from one another; they ask other people where their siblings are, so that they will not run into each other by error. An adopted sibling has the same pəl as a real sibling, hence the same attitudes are practiced.

When a woman dies early, while her children are young, there is no opportunity for pəl attitudes to become established and only a weak form of pəl ensues between brother and sister, or between wa'nli:pí:ri:yən of opposite sex. The sister or female cousin becomes as a mother to her younger brother or male cousin and is often called mother (term 2). Sibling avoidance begins at about the age of fifteen if the mother lives. There is no avoidance unless siblings of opposite sex are next to one another in order of birth. The following cases illustrate this point; F designates a girl, M a boy, and the numbers represent siblings in order of birth:

Family A: 1F, 2M, 3F, 4M. 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4 practice avoidance; 1 acts as a mother to 4.

Family B: 1F, 2M, 3M, 4F. 1 and 2, 3 and 4 practice avoidance; 1 acts as a mother to 3.

Family C: 1M, 2M, 3M, 4M, 5F. Only 4 and 5 practice avoidance; 1, 2, and 3 act as fathers to 5.

Swearing is by means of reference to a sibling of opposite sex. A man may swear by saying ri:ey li (term 13) or an alternative form, pəteli; a woman swears ri:ey wol (term 12) or pəteli. Or he may use his sister's name, followed by púkapuk (knot); conversation is conceived to be like a thread, and to assert the truth of something one has said this expression

is used, signifying the strong knot between brother and sister. Another form is to swear by the bones of a long-dead sister. pételi is the strongest oath, just as the tie between a man and the husband of his pételi is the strongest of any between men who call each other mwa (term 11). Similarly, among a woman's mwa the bond with the wife of the man she calls pételi is the strongest.

A man will usually have at least three pételi, one sister, one woman in relationship 14, one woman in relationship 15. His father and mother will designate to him in childhood which of his female relatives he is to regard as pételi. If he falls between two sisters in age it will normally be the younger one, unless she is very much younger, when it will be the next older sister. The wa'nli:pi:ri:yen (term 15) will be chosen from the daughters of the mother's next older or next younger sister, depending on which of the daughters is closest to him in age; similarly for wa'nolpi:ri:yen (term 14). The bond between siblings who are pételi is weaker than that between parallel cousins so designated.*

A man who swears pételi by a wa'nli:pi:ri:yen is utterly sworn and cannot be released from an obligation he has undertaken in this manner, such as an oath to kill another man,

*A Net informant says that all of a man's mother's sisters' daughters who occupy the same position in birth sequence as he does will be his pételi; e.g., if he is a second son all female wa'nli:pi:ri:yen who are second daughters will be pételi to him. But checking with genealogies shows this generally to be true only if they are close in age.

unless his mother or other near relative cuts a lock of hair from his head when she is unobserved or when he is sleeping. The oath is then erased and he cannot swear again until another occasion arises therefor.

If a designated pételi leads a loose sexual life a man's parents may tell him not to observe pél with her any longer but to take her next sister as pételi instead. But the converse state of affairs, when a man is dissolute, does not apply. There may be some Christian influence involved here.

When a man is ill his pételi cannot come to attend him. Those parallel cousins of opposite sex not so near in age may come, bring food, sit awhile some distance from him, then take their leave. But cousins quite remote in age may come and massage him and handle him otherwise familiarly, since they are like mothers and daughters.

Not all people have pételi. The Nanken of Net has none, he says, because his mother died early and no pél therefore developed with any of his sisters or parallel cousins.

All of the avoidance patterns described for siblings apply also to wa'nli:pi:ri:yen and to wa'nolpi:ri:yen (when these are of the same clan) of opposite sex, except that they are more intense than with siblings. Parallel cousins must speak in whispers even today; the woman must say mayq (sir) to the man, and he may use the same term if he wishes. She cannot enter his bedroom; she must sit with her knees covered; she cannot take his children bathing with her lest they describe her nakedness to him.

As with siblings there are differences in attitudes

among different parallel cousins. A man considers his mother's sister's eldest daughter, if she is older than he, to be somewhat like a mother to him, and a daughter who is younger than he is held to be somewhat like a child; but the daughter near his own age is the one whom he holds as pételi and swears by, more than his actual sister. His younger brother takes the next younger cousin as his pételi. If his mother has several sisters the daughter of each of them close in age to him is pételi to him. Pél attitudes toward the other cousins diminish according to the difference in age. Second parallel cousins may also be pételi if of the proper age; and one case of a pair of pételi who were third parallel cousins was collected.

Wa'nli:pi:ri:yən and wa'nolpi:ri:yən of the same sex treat each other somewhat less familiarly than siblings of the same sex. The son of a younger sister must obey the son of an older sister regardless of their own respective ages; and similarly between daughters of sisters, sons of brothers, and daughters of brothers. The pél that exists here is weaker than that between parallel cousins of opposite sex; nevertheless there are various restrictions on conduct. Conversation must not be in the common language, but a number of honorific forms are used. If a man is seated in the way of his male parallel cousin the latter must ask permission to pass by him. There must be no touching of each other's head or shoulders. Between females there is more familiarity than between males, but the same requirements of obedience and mutual help are in force.

Wa'nolpi:ri:yən of the same sex may not scold or talk ill of each other. If a single quarrel should arise between them

they must fight and never again be reconciled. A saying goes tipwanki:ye pi:ri:yen (broken between siblings); this is used to express the idea. It does not apply to a younger brother or to a younger wa'nli:pi:ri:yen; either of these relatives is subject to scolding and discipline. It does apply to female wa'nolpi:ri:yen, but unlike males the family may succeed in bringing them together again after they quarrel; but even when reconciled there will be awkwardness between them and the old relationship can never be restored.

Informants differ concerning the two types of parallel cousin, some asserting that pəl is strongest between wa'nolpi:ri:yen of opposite sex, some saying that it is strongest between wa'nli:pi:ri:yen of opposite sex. The former seems to be the majority opinion, but only if they are of the same clan.

Though cross-cousins denote each other by parental-filial terms, cross-cousin marriage is the preferred form of marriage. Wa'nli:pi:ri:yen are prohibited from marrying. Wa'nolpi:ri:yen may marry when they are not in the same clan but the practice is frowned upon. When brother and sister marry sister and brother (referred to as pəkəsil) and one marriage breaks up the other marriage must do so also; hence each couple is expected to be more careful than other persons to avoid quarrels.

A father's sister's son, who is referred to by the same term (1) as father, takes some of the functions of a real father, even if he is younger than his classificatory son. He counsels against evil deeds and gives all sorts of advice. A father's sister's daughter is treated by a man like a mixture of mother and potential wife; the parental-filial terms are used

and gifts are given, but there is also joking and familiar behavior.

Two men who as babies have been suckled at the same breast, or who have undergone a dangerous experience together, or one of whom has saved the other's life, become blood-brothers (sówapwa:l) and undertake kinship ties closer than those of actual brothers. Each observes all the avoidance relationships that the other observes, and neither can marry women forbidden to the other.

rú attitudes between mwa (term 11) are also strong. Mwa may not converse at length, and when they must talk they speak in whispers. They must use the term mayu (sir) and address one another by their titles. They may not enter each other's rooms, nor take hold of each other's persons or belongings, nor wear each other's clothes. They help one another with any hard work. In a fight each must be the first to come to the assistance of the other, ahead of an actual brother, even though it means death. In Spanish times, during a war in Awak, a man was felled by a bullet; his mwa went to his body and stood there, determined to die beside him, and fired at the enemy until he too was killed. If a war should find one's mwa on one side, one's brother and other close relatives on the other side, there is no choice but to take the side of the mwa. (But if the choice came between mwa and wa'nolpi:ri:yan the latter would probably win out.)

rú between a man and his sister's husband (mwa) is less strong than that between him and the husband (also mwa) of his wa'nli:pi:ri:yan, which is surpassed only by that between

him and the wa'nli:pi:ri:yen herself. Such men refer to each other as "my Nanmarki." Just as no one may call to the Nanmarki but must go and seek him or send someone to seek, mwa may not call one another but must seek each other out. Like two wa'nli:pi:ri:yen of opposite sex, when a man visits his mwa and finds him sitting in a chair he must take his seat on the floor; if he finds him outside in the rain he must remain outside with him; if he finds him close to a fire he must stay close also, regardless of how uncomfortable he may become.

Though the foregoing is the ideal pattern, some cases of joking between mwa were observed. In one case when the B1 of U was acting as informant his mwa, the X1 of section 2 of U, kept joking that the B1 ought not to reveal everything he knew. In another case the A6 of Kiti swore in jest (but in English) at a rather remote mwa of his; but he explained that there was nothing improper, for the wife of the mwa, the clan sister of the A6, was absent. Such joking should, apparently, occur only when the relationship is not a close one, and the words must be carefully chosen; if someone protests at a joke as going too far the reply is, "It is only martakáy," the reference being to the concept of martakáy (solid rock) which exists between mwa. Between mwa who are less remote there should be no such joking, since speaking is so hedged about by restrictions.

Females who call each other mwa behave according to similar patterns and likewise refer to one another as "my Nanmarki."

The u:lap (term 7) has definite functions with relation to his wa:wa: (term 8). A woman scolded or mistreated by her hus-

band goes to live with her u:lap. In such case the husband's father's sister must go to the u:lap and make a feast of apology, (to:m), before the woman will return to her husband. Similarly if it is the wife who has done evil or been unfaithful her father's sister comes to make to:m to the husband's u:lap. An u:lap will not permit his sister's husband to strike the latter's half-grown children before other people, and will prevent him from inflicting any punishment he considers too severe. If the u:lap was a Nanmarki or Nanken it would formerly have been considered a dishonor to him for his wa:wa: to be struck by their father.

A woman who is to bear her first child goes to live with her u:lap until the child is born; her u:lap would scold her if she failed to come. For four days after the birth the u:lap (or her sub-clan head, the mes'n ni:'n káynak), supplies the large quantities of food needed on such an occasion. The husband goes along with her and they stay sometimes as long as six months. The u:lap looks after his sister's children and brings them food when they are small. There can be no joking between wa:wa: and u:lap.

When a man is ill his father's sister comes to take care of him; she makes medicines herself or seeks out a good curer. When someone has an abundance of food, as after a good fishing expedition, the father's sister shares generously; and vice-versa. A man's wife's father's sister (classed by him as sawlap, term 6), conceives it her duty to see that he does not talk to other women than his wife, and reciprocally his father's sister looks closely after his wife; in this function the duty

lies also with his mother or his oldest or youngest sister. A man's father's sister stays with his wife when he is absent, so that no one may come to lead her astray; she accompanies her to her bath or to fetch water or to gather shell-fish; someone must be with her day and night.

Between sáwlap (term 6) there must be no joking. A third party may not talk on sexual themes when both are present; as with other women with whom there is pəl the "sacred tattoo" on the knee must never be uncovered. The son-in-law's clothes must be well arranged at all times when the mother-in-law is near. Neither may touch the other's clothes. If they live in the same house they must stay in rooms distant from one another. In passing on the road the mother-in-law averts her glance, but does not sit down as a sister should do.

To a lesser degree this behavior is extended to all the women a wife calls by term 2, except those she calls thus in virtue of her marriage. A woman and her husband's father observe some avoidance patterns, but not to the same extent.

Persons to whom terms 9 and 10 are applied are sexually accessible. A man may sleep with his wife's unmarried sisters, though he should obtain his wife's permission. The wife may feel jealous but is ashamed to show it. If a man sleeps with a woman not in the wa:līniyep class his wife's sisters exhibit jealousy equally with her. If the wife dies her sisters and wa'nli:pi:ri:yan (term 15) try to hold him so that he will not marry outside their clan.

Ordinarily the chief of the dead wife's sub-clan is consulted by the widower in making a second marriage. If there is no eligible woman the chief may suggest a wa'nolpi:ri:yen (term 14) of the dead woman. If the widower makes his own choice from another clan without consulting the dead wife's sub-clan chief the latter may come and take the children away, for fear of their ill-treatment by the new wife. permission from the chief may be obtained to marry a woman in another clan, but (formerly) the piece of land obtained from the dead wife's sub-clan when the first marriage occurred would have to be returned.

Besides a wife's sister a man may sleep with his brother's wife. Kiti and Net informants agree that the proper behavior is for a man to take only his younger brothers' wives, and that only occasionally does a man permit a younger brother to sleep with his wife. A Kiti woman alleges the reverse state of affairs and states that an older brother has sexual connection with a younger brother's wife only in secret; younger brothers are supposed to do all the fighting in war-time for their older brothers, hence the privilege. The Kiti and Net informants say that a man also has sexual rights over his wa'nli:pi:ri:yen's wife if his mother is the older sister of the wa'nli:pi:ri:yen's mother, regardless of their own respective ages; if the age relationship of the mothers is reversed his rights extend only to the wife of the younger son of the mother's sister, and his own younger brother has rights only over the wife of a third son.

It is considered a shameful thing to be jealous of a

younger brother. A saying goes, pérsk so: lípwa, "spread-mat without trace;" that is, a woman is like a mat, to be used by brothers without leaving any mark or spoiling them. A similar saying applies to clansmates, "lípw'en síla maw, "scar of axe good;" that is, good axes make good canoes, a woman being compared with a canoe which clansmates are supposed to help a man make; but if a man of another clan comes the canoe will be spoiled. A man who is jealous of his clansmates with his wife is held to be a coward, for he thinks only of her, not of manly things like war, and would not wish to die in battle. But whoever slept with the wife of a man of another clan did so at the risk of his life.

GLOSSARY

- áni. Ghost or spirit.
kāmatip. A feast of various types.
kawn. The principal chief of a section.
kāwsap or kowsap. A section of a wey.
kēnot. An honorific for food, applied to certain chiefs.
kōwrōparōp. A type of competitive feast (see p. 181).
kōwsarānsap. Another type of competitive feast.
Nanken. The first chief of the second (B) line in each wey.
Nanmarki. The first chief of the first (A) line in each wey.
na:nras. The central, ground-level area of the community house.
nanwey. The part of the wey where the Nanmarki lives, called here the capitol.
nas. The community house.
nō:pwey. First fruits.
ōli:so. The lower chiefs in the A-line (see p. 14).
pāliānsap. A farmstead, a division of a kāwsap.
pēl. Respect and veneration attitudes, feeling toward someone with whom sexual relationship is prohibited.
pātali. A sister or female parallel cousin; an actual or classificatory sibling by whom one swears.
riyāla. A disease of supernatural origin which comes from offending a chief.
ron. The widow of a high chief; the prohibition for such a widow to remarry.
sak. An honorific for food, applied to certain chiefs.
seri:so. The B-line of chiefs (see pp. 13f).
sow nē or sow ēn nānē. The master of ceremonies at a feast.
sow'n tē sōkaw. The master of the kava ritual.
sowpāyti. A term meaning generally the highest chiefs, but used quite variably (see pp. 12f).
tō:m. A feast given to beg pardon or to propitiate the wrath of a chief.
u:m. A stone oven.
u:pa. Prestige competition through making offerings to chiefs (see pp. 14lf).
wa:w. Honor, respect.
wey. One of the five divisions of Ponape into tribes or states.
wōnu:m. The family cook-house.

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